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THE MARTYRS OF NEW FRANCE*

I

The era of the martyrs began in 1642. It was started by the Iroquois, not the Hurons. At that time there was a considerable number of Christians among the Hurons, who had been won over gradually by the influence of the missionaries. Alliance with them afforded the French colony access to the Great Lakes. But at the same time the Iroquois, their enemies, and on that account the enemies of the French, placed our settlements in extreme peril. "The five Iroquois nations, autonomous but federated, were ranged on the southern shore of Lake Ontario, and on the Mohawk River from Niagara to the Hudson. They had an opening on the Great Lakes and also on the Mississippi; they had one, by way of the St. Lawrence, to the Atlantic. Two thousand five hundred Iroquois warriors spread out over more than four hundred kilometres, fleet of foot and skilled in navigation, terrorized Algonquins and Hurons,"[1] At the beginning of the colony they had made Champlain uneasy. However, he would have made it his business to exterminate them or "to make them come to reason" if the mother country had sent him only one hundred and twenty armed men. France did not grant this modest aid, and the English and the Dutch, already our rivals, soon perceived how useful the Iroquois would be to them in making precarious and even discouraging altogether our efforts in the basin of the St. Lawrence. "Among the unusually great difficulties which obstruct the progress of His divine Majesty's business," wrote Father Jerome Lalemant to Richelieu in March, 1640, "is the proximity of the English and the Flemish, who buoy up and powerfully confirm the courage of the enemies of our allies."[2] The Dutch of New Amsterdam furnished arquebuses to the savages. We would not, on the contrary, entrust firearms to any but native Christians and this prudence, justified in principle for the Indians were grown-up children and terrible ones at that, was turned against us.

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* The Canonization at Rome of eight North American Martyrs, June 29, 1930, is an event of supreme interest for all Americans whether inside or outside the Church. The scholarly and carefully documented article on these intrepid pioneers of civilization and the Faith by M. Georges Rigault which is here set before our readers was first published in a volume appearing in 1926, *Martyrs de la Nouvelle France.* (Vol. I., Bibliothèque des Missions; Memoires et documents, "Editions spes," 17 Rue Soufflot, Paris, VI). The translation from the French is by Miss Nancy Ring, A. M. (St. Louis University).

[1] Georges Goyau, *Les Origines Religieuses du Canada,* p. 144.

In the Relation of 1641 Father Vimont sounded the alarm: "New France is going to destruction if she is not given prompt and vigorous succor. The commerce of these Gentlemen (the Hundred Associates), the French colony, and the religion which is beginning to flourish among the savages are at an end if the Iroquois are not subdued. Fifty Iroquois are capable of driving as many as two hundred and fifty Frenchmen from the field unless there is question of fighting in the open. In a battle in the open, of course fifty Frenchmen can put to rout five hundred Iroquios unless the Dutch have given them fire-arms. Once the Indians turn in fury on us French, they give us no rest; an Iroquois will remain for two or three days without eating, hidden behind a log within fifty feet of your house in order to massacre the first person who falls into his ambush. If he is discovered, the woods offer him a refuge. Where a Frenchman finds nothing but obstacles, the Indian leaps lightly as a deer. How can we live in this anxiety? If this tribe does not become friendly, or if it is not exterminated, we shall have to abandon the good neophytes to their cruelty, many bright hopes will be extinguished, and we must needs see the devils recover their empire."[3]

To win over the Iroquois had been the earnest wish of the colony, but it had no success in its efforts to do so. To destroy them and through them to strike at New Holland and the Company of the Indies, it was necessary to secure the permission and the aid of the royal government. But at Paris the undertaking was considered dangerous and a decision was postponed. In 1642 the foundation of Villemarie [Montreal] and the construction of Fort Richelieu provided at least some protection against the ravagers.

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[2] Jerome Lalemant à Richelieu, 28 mars 1640 (Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations,* XVII, pp. 218-225), cited by Goyau, p. 145.

[3] Cited by Goyau, p. 146.

In the face of this [merely] defensive stand the Iroquois took the initiative and were able to get Jogues and then Bressani into their hands. The Dutch, who from political motives armed the wretches, had at least the humanity to intervene in behalf of the victims and successively rescued the two Jesuits—but in what a plight!—from the clutches of the Iroquois.

A great hope dawned the 12th of July, 1645, when the Iroquois Kiotsaeton, ambassador of the Agniers [Mohawk] nation, presented himself at Three Rivers before M. de Montmagny, governor of New France, M. de Champflour, commandant of the place, Father Vimont and Father Jogues. The peace, concluded in two days, was ratified three months later in a general assembly of the Iroquois federation, at which Montmagny presided.[4]

From that moment the Jesuits longed to carry the Gospel to this apparently now better-disposed tribe. The mission to be founded among them was to bear the name of Mission of the Martyrs. In placing it under the protection of those who in heavenly speculation wear the blood-stained robe they wished at the same time to predict the future and commemorate the past. Of course Bressani and Jogues had not consummated their sacrifice: but René Goupil, the young servant of the Society of Jesus, and companion of Isaac Jogues in his experiences of 1642, had been slain by the blow of a hatchet before the eyes of the Father on September 29 of that very year.

Presently Father Jogues went to shed the remainder of his blood for God in the land of his initial sufferings. In the month of May, 1646, accompanied by the engineer Jean Bourdon he had gone to the Iroquois country in order to survey the ground and had been well received by his old captors, the Agniers [Mohawks]. Yet Jogues, knowing the fickle nature and the deep-rooted perfidy of the savages, had no feeling of security. When he was setting out on his third and last journey to the Iroquois he wrote to one of his brethren: *"Ibo et non redibo"* ("I will go and shall not return"). As a matter of fact the following October he was massacred, as well as his companion, Jean de La Lande.

By the murder of these two Frenchmen the Iroquois belied their pledges and ushered in the final struggle against the Hurons. The Jesuit missions between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario were caught in the disaster of the French allies. And this misfortune came at the very hour of their greatest spiritual prosperity.

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[4] Goyau, *op. cit.,* p. 184.

From the time Father Jerome Lalemant took over the direction of these Huron missions they were methodically organized. A complete enumeration was made of the villages and even of the "cabins, the fires and almost the population of the entire country." Greatly helped by this register, the missionaries swarmed from the central residence of Sainte Marie in five evangelizing groups to the principal villages. In 1640 Lalemant could send word to Cardinal Richelieu that "we have preached the Gospel to more that ten thousand savages, not only in general but to each family and almost to each person in particular."[5]

In 1648 the Huron missions, numbering seventeen Fathers under the authority of Father Ragueneau, were established in ten villages. Their material wants were entrusted to servants who were not members of the religious community but had voluntarily offered themselves for life to the service of the Society of Jesus. They fished and hunted to provide food for the residence, and they were armed to defend it against attack. They were called *"donnés."* Their status had at first seemed strange and irregular to the General of the Jesuits and it met with his disapproval. Afterwards, when he was more fully informed, he realized that it filled a need in Canada. Goupil and La Lande, the two young men killed by the Iroquois, and Couture, who like Goupil had been taken with Father Jogues in 1642, were *donnés.*

In twenty months the invaders brought about the ruin of so much good realized, of so many hopes for the future. The Hurons allowed themselves to be surprised and the Jesuits could improvise no adequate defence. On July 14, 1648, the residence of Saint Joseph was burned, the inhabitants were massacred or carried away in slavery, and the pastor, Father Antoine Daniel, was killed by the shot of an arquebus and his body thrown in the flames. On March 16, 1649, the village of St. Ignace was destroyed in like manner. The next day the Iroquois attacked St. Louis, where Father Brébeuf and a young religious who had arrived six months before, Father Gabriel Lalemant, nephew of Jerome and of Charles [Lalemant], were living. St. Louis was taken in the third assault and the two Jesuits expired in the most frightful tortures.

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[5] Goyau, p. 140.

After their frontier towns were in the power of the enemy the Hurons lost all will to defend themselves. They themselves burned their fifteen villages which had remained intact. Then some made their way towards the "mountains of Petun," others towards the Neutral Nation, while still others succeeded in settling among the Iroquois. Three hundred refugee families on the Isle of St. Joseph asked the missionaries to come to them. The missionaries did so after having on June 14, 1649, destroyed their residence of St. Marie, which could be held no longer.

The Petun nation (so-called by the French because of its numerous tobacco plantations), relatives and neighbors of the Hurons, whose language they spoke, did not long remain safe from the Iroquois, to whom victory and pillage had given an appetite for new violence. The Jesuits also had a mission among the Petuns. On December 7, 1649, this residence of St. Jean was attacked by the Iroquois and Father Charles Garnier died with his flock. The day after the morrow this list of victims was burdened with still another name. Father Noël Chabanel, who shared the labors of Father Garnier, had been recalled by the Superior several days before the capture of St. Jean. During his journey he was assassinated by a Huron apostate who, blaming the Jesuits for the misfortunes of his family, avenged himself on one of them.

The last page of this lamentable but supernaturally glorious history was written in the Spring of 1650 when the missionaries brought to Quebec the Huron, whom they could no longer support on the Isle of St. Joseph. Six hundred of them settled on the Isle of Orleans near the French town [Quebec].

However, this was not the conclusion of the Iroquois wars nor a final resting place for the surviving Hurons. In 1651 and in 1652 Villemarie [Montreal] would have been lost but for the heroism of Major Closse and his handful of soldiers. During this same period Father Buteux, Superior of the Residence of Three Rivers, was met by a band of Iroquois while he was on an adventurous trip to the North to conquer new tribes for the Faith. He was shot twice, then killed, and his body thrown in the river.

Four years later the Agniers hurled themselves on the Isle of Orleans and took sixty Huron prisoners, obliging the unfortunate people to search elsewhere for a home. They put to death a Jesuit Brother near Sillery while on the Ottawa River

Father Leonard Garreau was fatally wounded. When the Sulpicians, fulfilling the wishes and obeying the orders of their founder, became the educators of the Canadian clergy, they, too, had their victims at the hand of the Iroquois, M. Vignal and M. Lemaître.

Shall not the wolves, changed to sheep, some day come into the sheep-fold in peace? New France does not despair. From 1656 to 1658 there was an Iroquois mission near Lake Gannentaha. But the Agniers persuaded the Confederation to take active measures against the preachers of Christ. Warned by friendly chiefs, the missionaries had to take to flight secretly in order to avert a massacre which would have been the signal for a new war.

Better times were to come. In 1669 Marie de l'Incarnation could write that "the Iroquois are yielding to our holy faith," that they "bring their children to be baptized" and "are becoming attentive to prayer and instruction." [6] A providential lull, which was to be followed by difficult times, by a recrudescence of treachery and by battles, but which facilitated the conversion of many a savage, the settlement on the soil of many a French family, the peopling and civilization of that Canada for the sake of which Franciscans, Jesuits, Sulpicians, soldiers, French colonists and native Christians had shed their blood.

II

Among these victims the Jesuits of the Huron Missions have always held a preeminent position in the memories of men and in the veneration of the faithful. Their brethren and their contemporaries from the first held them to be true martyrs nor have historians withheld that title. Whenever their bodies could be recovered, they were considered rare relics. Marie de l'Incarnation wrote to her son, Dom Claude Martin, October 22, 1649: "Our Foundress [Mme de la Peltrie] sends you some relics of our holy martyrs, but she does so secretly because the Reverend Fathers did not wish to give us any for fear we might send them to France."

The bones of Father Brébeuf and of Father Gabriel Lalemant had been taken to Quebec where the skull of Brébeuf was preserved, at the Hôtel-Dieu, in the plinth of a silver bust given by his family. Father Garnier was buried where he fell. When peace came, they wished to exhume his body in order to give it proper burial. However, nothing but a few bones were found, which were added to the relics of the two other Jesuits. As the bodies of Jogues, de La Lande and Chabanel had been thrown in the river by the Indians, that of René Goupil stolen by them, and that of Antoine Daniel totally consumed by fire, the devotion of the faithful had nothing left to venerate of what had been here below the human wrapping of these servants of God.

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[6] Marie de l'Incarnation à la Superieure des Ursulines de Mons, ler octobre 1669. Cited by Goyau, *op. cit.,* p. 236.

Devotion to the martyrs was very much alive, nevertheless, and quite widespread. In 1664 a History of the Missions of Canada written by Father Ducreux contained a print representing the martyrdom of the missionaries. This sketch was spread about profusely; it may be seen at the beginning of the *History of New France* by Father Charlevoix, edition of 1774.[7] Prayers to the martyrs were said in private oratories and many cures, spiritual graces and conversions of heretics obtained through their intercession. Father Daniel, shining in glory, appeared to Father Chaumonot; he appeared in the midst of a council of Jesuits and fired them wih the spirit of God. In 1663, while terrible earth-quakes were shaking Canada, Mother Catherine de Saint-Augustin, hospital nun of Quebec, saw St. Michael and Father de Brébeuf in the heavens restraining the divine wrath.[8]

Jean Cavelier, alderman of the town of Caen and printer to the King and the University, extolled the great Brébeuf thus in a Latin inscription which adorns the tomb of the Brébeuf brothers, Guillaume, author of the *Pharsale,* and Nicolas, prior curé of the parish, in the church of Saint-Gerbold in Venoix: "New France welcomed him as another Paul and a worthy brother of Xavier. After he had suffered the most horrible tortures, been roasted in slow fires and burned with fiery hatchets, he was taken to heaven: an admirable example of Christian strength and heroic virtue."[9] Around his relics the Hospital nuns of Quebec made thanksgiving. Every year on the 16th of March, the anniversary of his death, they communicate; and this pious custom, recorded by Mother Juchereau de Saint-Ignace, annalist of the community in the seventh century, is in vogue to this day.[10]

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[7] *Declarationes martyrii servorum Dei J. de Brébeuf et sociorum e. Soc. Jesu. Processus apostolicus super martyrio.* Valiquet deposition.

[8] Goyau, *op. cit.,* p. 241.

[9] *Processus apostolicus.* Scott and Roy deposition. The inscription was replaced in the church when it was rebuilt in 1875.

The thought of obtaining from Rome official recognition of the sanctity of Brébeuf and his companions and authorization to render them public worship must have come very early. It was, doubtless, for this reason that Father Ragueneau composed the manuscript of which a copy, properly certified by himself and Father Poncet under oath, was kept by the Jesuits of Quebec until the suppression of the Society. It was then confided to the nuns of the Hospital and later restored by them to the Fathers, who placed it in the archives of their college of Sainte-Marie [Montreal].[11] The Relations of 1649 to 1657 incorporate all the contents of this document, but it itself remains a legacy and a precious testimonial from the first apostles of Canada. The pages wherein Father Jogues recounts the life and death of René Goupil, the original text of which is also preserved at Sainte-Marie, serve to bring to light the real sanctity, the real martyrdom of the young *"donné."*

It seems indeed that a preliminary inquiry was ordered in 1653 by the Archbishop of Rouen, whose jurisdiction extended at that time to New France. Depositions were made and in a work written at the close of the last century Father Martin declared that he had seen the documents indorsed with the autograph of Father Ragueneau.[12] Did he simply intend to mention the manuscript of which there is question above? Or have these documents been lost for thirty years? In any case, we find no more traces today of the Rouen inquiry.[13]

The Primate of Normandy was so far away that his jurisdiction over Canada could be little more than theoretical. In 1658 New France was made a Vicariate-Apostolic and Msgr. de Montigny-Laval, its first bishop, was consecrated on December 8 in the Parisian church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. This event explains the stopping of the process at Rouen and the oblivion which shortly overtook this premature endeavor in the cause of our martyrs.

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[10] *Processus apostolicus.* Scott deposition.

[11] *Processus apostolicus.* Melancon deposition.

[12] *Hurons et Iroquois,* by Father Martin, 3rd edition, 1898, p. 288. *Processus apostolicus,* deposition of M. Roy, archivist of the province of Quebec.

[13] Same deposition.

If the question was not brought up again in the course of the eighteenth century, we must blame the times rather than the religious, successors of the heroic pioneers, or the Catholics, who had profited by their devotion. During this period Canada experienced incessant wars between French and English colonies, dissensions between ecclesiastical and civil authorities, the absence of bishops, and finally subjugation to a powerful Protestant power against which consciences had to be guarded and the faith preserved. When Clement XIV, under pressure from France, Spain and Portugal withdrew from the Society of Jesus its canonical existence, it seemed indeed that the hour had passed for rendering to the Jesuits of the seventeenth century the justice they had waited for so long.

Meanwhile their fame did not fade away. Canada remained faithful to them, and France, also, remembered something of their services and their sublime end. In 1800 a French missionary, M. de Calonne, who had come to Prince Edward Island, besought the Archbishop of Quebec to give him the relics of Brébeuf, "first apostle of Canada, martyred on the 16th of March." [14] Chateaubriand picked up and diffused, in sonorous echo, the popular tradition when, in his *Natchez,* he makes Father Souel say: "But so great a blessing is not reserved for all. It is not for me to aspire to the glory of Brébeuf and of Jogues, who died for the faith in America." [15] The generations of French-Canadians who have followed one another during the past two hundred and seventy-five years have in turn attested the perpetuity of their national tradition on the subject of the martyrs.[16]

On this point they are in accord with the Protestants. We already know the opinion of the historians, Bancroft and Parkman. That of the Primate of the Anglican Church, the Reverend Mr. Randall, Archbishop of Canterbury, must not be overlooked. In 1904 in a sermon given at Quebec he paid tribute to the faith which fired the hearts of Goupil, Jogues, Lalemant, Brébeuf and Daniel in their martyrdom. Seven years later, speaking this time to the English, he compared the names of the

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[14] *Processus apostolicus.* Roy deposition.
Father Arthur Melancon in his deposition. *Processus apostolicus.*

[15] Chateaubriand, *les Natchez,* livre III, p. 161, ed. 1863. Cited by

[16] Roy deposition.

Jesuit martyrs to those of the Lawrences, the Cyprians, the Blandinas.[17]

It has pleased the Catholics to attribute to the intercession of the martyrs the respect for the Roman religion and its public worship which is evidenced by their "separated brethren" as also the great liberty which the Church enjoys in Canada. In 1883 a very formal declaration to this effect was made by the clergy of Quebec in a supplication to the Holy See.[18]

Goupil, Jogues and La Lande were martyred in the territory of the United States, at Auriesville, near Albany (New York State). A very plain chapel has been built there under the name of Our Lady of Martyrs. The Jesuits have made of it a place of pilgrimage and publish at Auriesville *The Pilgrim of Our Lady of Martyrs,* a bulletin in which the temporal and spiritual favors which the pilgrims are conscious of having received are recorded. More than ten thousand visit the church annually.

Also in the United States there originated a desire to see the images of Father Jogues and his two companions placed on the altars. The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, in 1884, asked permission of the Sovereign Pontiff to bring their cause before the Roman tribunals.

The Canadian Church and the Society of Jesus, the latter of which had come again to the banks of the St. Lawrence toward the middle of the nineteenth century, could do no less for the other missionaries, victims of Indian paganism. At the same time as the Council of Baltimore the Seventh Provincial Council of Quebec initiated proceedings with the Holy See. The proceedings were renewed in 1909. In the month of March, 1912, a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites authorized the introduction of the cause of beatification of Fathers Jean de Brébeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, Antoine Daniel, Charles Garnier, and Noël Chabanel. The decree of August 9, 1916, was favorable to the postulatum of the Baltimore Council.[19] Since that time the examination of the joint causes has been actively pursued and there is hope of a favorable conclusion in the near future.[20] From the depositions gathered in the course of the apostolic process, which we have here the honor and the joy of utilizing, it seems likely that the title of martyr will be given to Brébeuf and the others of the Huron mission, to Jogues and the two *"donnés"* Goupil and de La Lande, in the same sense in which it is used in the liturgy of the Catholic Church when she honors the victims of the bloody persecutions set on foot by the Roman emperors. The parallel established by the Anglican archbishop does not elicit objection from a single theologian. Like St. Cyprian, St. Lawrence and St. Blandina, Brébeuf, Jogues and their companions in suffering and glory were immolated in hatred of the faith. Their death was the death of the saints, precious in the sight of the Lord, because it evinced the truthfulness of a testimony rendered in favor of the faith and was the greatest proof of love that man can give to the Divine Friend, Jesus Christ.

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[17] Citations furnished by Father Melancon in his deposition.

[18] Melancon deposition.

[19] *Processus apostolicus.* Roy deposition. Turcot deposition.

[20] Since the writing of these pages our Martyrs were proclaimed Blessed on June 21, 1925 and were canonized June 29, 1930.

III

Doubtless anyone examining the matter only superficially might believe that the Iroquois slew the Jesuits simply in obedience to their barbarous custom. Not only among the Iroquois tribes, but among the Algonquins and Hurons as well, a prisoner of war was atrociously tortured before being slain. And even though the Indians were not in ordinary times cannibalistic, having, like the Europeans, respect for human corpses and taking particular care of their dead, they did not hesitate to devour the flesh of their enemies, to eat morsels of it before the very eyes of their still-living, miserable captives, and finally to devour the heart of any captive who had fought with valor and had endured torture without shrinking, hoping thus to assimilate the blood of heroes.

The missionaries, representing a European nation whose establishment of themselves in the basin of the St. Lawrence the Iroquois were unwilling to endure and who were hosts and friends to the Hurons, whom the Iroquois had sworn to exterminate or to merge with their own confederation, evidently came into collision with national hostility. When made prisoners, their fate was the fate of their native allies, pagan Hurons and Christian Hurons.

Here are facts beyond dispute. An explanation of them must be furnished without gaps and without error. The Iroquois fought the French but, as remarked by Father Bressani,[21] there was here no racial antipathy: the Dutch and later the English, Europeans like ourselves, allied themselves with the savages and employed them precisely for their evil designs against the French colony. The Iroquois considered us their enemies because our Canadian policy, based entirely in this matter on religious considerations, dictated to us peace with the Hurons, whom we wished to convert. Consequently, in a certain, although indirect, manner, the preaching of the Gospel exposed the missionaries of France to the terrible reprisals of the Indians, and our country would have met with less opposition if it had, in its relations with the savages, been interested in commerce only.

From hatred of the French Christian the Iroquois passed easily to hatred of Christianity. This religion, which forbade cruelty, lying, vengeance, which humbled pride and mortified the passions of the flesh, must needs from the very start be suspected by these pagans, who, indeed, were not without the natural virtues, being brave, hospitable, helpful, but were a prey to all the vices of miserable humanity, and quite incapable of virtues which presuppose any effort. "There is nothing so disagreeable to us as your doctrine when we first hear it," said the Algonquins to Father Jogues. And as this was the time when he was preparing to return to the Iroquois to seal the peace of 1645, his conductors exhorted him to leave off his "long robe" which "preached even as his mouth did." He took their advice, resolved to "become infirm to the infirm" and to "conduct himself among the wicked as one does among heretics." And this time as a simple ambassador of New France but not openly as an apostle, he performed his entire journey without encumbrance.[22]

These strangers who brought with them so strict a morality and whose teachings were so novel that the native language had not the words required to explain them were soon regarded by the savages as malevolent beings. Constant accusations of magic were made against the missionaries, the more readily as the local sorcerers saw in them irreconcilable enemies. We find in certain stories which were circulated among the Hurons a remote and curious echo of the accusations which the pagans of Rome made against the Christians of the first centuries. It was alleged that the missionaries kept the dead body of a little child in the tabernacle. Thence came the contagions which afflicted the people.

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[21] Bressani, *Relation brève*. Cited by Sister Marie-Joseph (Angelia Turcot), of the Monastery of the Hotel-Dieu of the Precious Blood, of Quebec, in her deposition. *Processus apostolicus*.

[22] Relation of 1646. Cited by Sister Marie-Joseph in her deposition. *Processus apostolicus*.

The Relation of 1637 says on this subject: "This is a time when the most adorable mysteries are under suspicion and those who preach them are regarded as so many sorcerers and poisoners. It is not only in this country that we have this reputation. These false rumors have also gone abroad to other nations." [23]

The pagan or apostate Hurons did not fail to slander the missionaries to all their neighbors. When, in 1640, Jogues and Garnier went into the Blue Mountains, where the Petun Nation lived, their detestable reputation had preceded them. So, rebuffed in many a hut, barely subsisting, and manifestly odious to all their hosts, they had to withdraw at the end of five months. The Iroquois were also roused against the Jesuits by the Hurons whom they had captured or who had settled amongst them, and who hoped to soften the rage of their conquerors or to gain the confidence of their new fellow citizens by revealing to them the crimes of the "Black Robes." It is note-worthy that among the executioners of the Fathers we frequently find Hurons who know enough of the beliefs and rites of Catholicity to make a mockery of them or seek therein for ingenious and horrible devices of unspeakable tortures.

Besides the natives, the Dutch, civilized Europeans whom the French had helped against Spain in their war of liberation and who at this epoch remained, theoretically at least, our allies, men of pleasant mien and prudent conduct, share in the responsibility of the Iroquois abominations, the blood of the martyrs being in a measure upon their heads. This at any rate would seem to be borne out by events and testimonies of the day. Supplying the savages with arms and munitions was the act of greedy merchants and unscrupulous politicians, the proceeding of ill-disposed neighbors and a sort of treason against humanity. Theology is not directly engaged in this question. But the Dutch Calvinists had no fondness for the Jesuits, the most redoubtable adversaries of Protestant heresy, and they did not think it wrong to slander them in order to rouse up the Iroquois against their preaching and their influence. In view of the savage mentality, such talk was equal to a death-warrant for the missionaries.

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[23] *Processus apostolicus.* Turcot deposition.

The colonists of New Holland used particularly dangerous and regrettable terms regarding the sign of the cross. A Huron Christian who had been taken prisoner with Father Jogues but had made his escape, reported that a Dutchman said to him when he made the sign of the cross before meals: "that is not a good thing to do." [24] The Calvinists assured the Iroquois that the sign of the cross was a superstition, and the Iroquois concluded that it meant bad luck. So they killed René Goupil for tracing it on the forehead of a little child.

IV

All this predisposed the Iroquois nations to persecute the missionaries: their enmity against the Hurons and the French, their affiliation with the Dutch through being neighbors and because of trade. Their pagan souls subjugated, in the language of the seventeenth century, by Satan since the original fall were plunged into an anti-Christian, anti-Catholic atmosphere. And their natural cruelty became exaggerated in diabolical fashion against their victims who used the sign of Christ.

This is why baptized savages were often themselves called on to bear witness to the Faith in the midst of torture. In extracts from the Relations one may see the story of Eustache Ahatsistari, one of the Hurons who was taken prisoner with Father Jogues. In 1650, a young Algonquin, Joseph Onaharé, a captive of the Iroquois, thanked God for having given him faith and baptism. He prayed in a loud voice to encourage his comrades, exhorting them to suffer with constancy the torments which were prepared for them. The Iroquois forbade him to speak thus. He paid no attention to their commands and torture left him unmoved. Then, surrounded by infuriated torturers, he continued to sing the praises of God during three days and three nights. "Tell your God to come and release you," jeered the Iroquois, using the words that the Pharisees and the high-priests cast at Our Lord on the cross. The Algonquin replied: "I thank You, my God, that You have given me grace to suffer not as a savage, but as a Christian." And he expired in these sentiments of a true martyr.[25]

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[24] Relation of 1643. *Processus apostolicus.* Turcot deposition.

[25] Relation of 1650. *Processus apostolicus.* Devine deposition.

We see here clearly the new relationship that Christianity established between torturers and victims. As of yore, the prisoner is burned by a slow fire, torn to bits, and despatched by the blows of a hatchet. But he suffers for the love of God, while previously he had chanted and danced in the midst of his tortures in order to defy his enemies and to assert the heroism of his race. And the torturers, infuriated by this strange attitude, are not merely barbarians who take an atrocious pleasure in human suffering. They are enraged madmen who howl and froth before a superior power and who attempt to exorcise it by refining the torments.

From this we comprehend that the capture and the putting to death of a missionary were events of a very special sort to the Iroquois. The savages wished to become masters of these extraordinary men, "sorcerers," as they called them. To humiliate these men abjectly, to bow them beneath the rod, to disfigure them, to reduce them to a state of miserable tatters, was a joyful revenge. "As soon as we were taken," wrote Father Bressani, "the Iroquois uttered horrible cries and gave thanks to the sun for having delivered to them a Black Robe." [26] But that the victory might be incontestably gained by the flesh over the spirit, by the slave of the passions over the preacher who came to bring spiritual liberty, the strange victim needs break down and implore the pity of his torturers. The savages accordingly became ingenious in prolonging his life while increasing at the same time his agony. Their rage waxed hotter with the fortitude of their victim. If they killed him, it was in despair of their cause and with regret at the thought that he was definitely out of their hands, yet always with relief that they themselves had remained safe from his grasp.

It is easy to conduct all this analysis in connection with the martyrdom of Father de Brébeuf and of Father Gabriel Lalemant. Father de Brébeuf did not cease to preach the Gospel until the barbarians pulled out his tongue and plunged a fiery iron down his throat. In derision of baptism they sprinkled him with boiling water. Then, after having burned him, dismembered him, hacked him to pieces, they tore out his heart, and, constrained to render homage in their fashion to this sublime virtue, they drank his still warm blood, that blood which ought, in their opinion, to create in them a superhuman strength.

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[26] Relation brève. *Processus apostolicus.* Turcot deposition.

Father Gabriel Lalemant was of a weakly constitution, "the most feeble and delicate man one could have seen," wrote Marie de l'Incarnation.[27] The Iroquois supposed that this frail nature would give them the joy of a victory. They allowed him to kneel down, to kiss the sacrificial stake, and to say to Father de Brébeuf, who had already had his lips cut off and his cheeks split from ear to ear, "now, Father, are we a spectacle to Heaven, to angels and to men."[28] At the supreme hour divine grace made this young bourgeois Parisian the equal of the robust Norman gentleman, the untiring Brébeuf. Red-hot awls, a necklace of white-hot axes, fire-brands, baptism with boiling water, all were resorted to in his torture. They wrapped him in blazing pine bark. They chopped off his nose and his tongue. They cut open his mouth. They slashed at his skull. The whole length of his left leg was cut open to the bone and a scorching hatchet run up and down in the wound. On his right leg a double incision was made, in the form of a cross, and the living flesh was roasted.

He prayed; they forced live coals down his throat. He looked toward Heaven; they plucked out his eyes. He joined his hands; they cut them off. The tortures commenced the evening of March 16 and were prolonged with refined and frightful carefulness during the whole night. About nine o'clock in the morning of March 17 a savage, weary of so long drawn-out a spectacle, shattered the skull of the martyr. Lalemant even to the last moment retained miraculously his moral energy and presence of mind. Covered with appalling wounds, he again threw himself on his knees to embrace the stake and offer himself to God.[29]

Antoine Daniel and Charles Garnier were spared such agony. They fell in an enemy attack under arrows and bullets. Their martyrdom was no less evidently an intended martyrdom. They gave themselves up for the salvation of their people, baptizing and absolving the Hurons while the Iroquois made their way into the fortified enclosure of the towns, and helping the faithful to escape while they themselves remained at the perilous post. "Courage, my brothers," cried Daniel, "we shall be in Paradise today!" A very humble soul, he would not have spoken these words of immense hope if he had not known that he fell for the faith. A formal martyrdom, also. Daniel advanced toward the invaders after having finished his Mass, still clad in his priestly vestments; Garnier wore his black robe, a target for the Iroquois. They were both struck down because they were priests. The savages fell upon the body of one of them, bathed their hands and faces in his blood and threw his mutilated remains in the flames which were consuming the chapel; they snatched off the cassock from the body of the other and treasured it as a rare trophy. Forced to abandon the place immediately for fear of a sudden return of the Hurons, they did not spend their rage on his lifeless body.

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[27] *Processus apostolicus.* Deposition of Father de Rochemonteix.

[28] Father Martin, *Vie du P. de Brèbeuf.* Cited by Father de Rochemonteix in his deposition.

[29] *Chronique de l'ordre des Carmelites.* Letter of Father Poncet to Mother Anne of the Saint-Sacrement. Cited by Father de Rochemonteix.

The end of Father Noël Chabanel was more obscure and his brethren asked among themselves what could have been the exact circumstances. Had he been killed by the Iroquois band who were returning to their country after the pillage and destruction of Saint-Jean? Was he lost in the woods? Had he died of cold and hunger? It was subsequently learned that on December 8, 1649, in the morning, he was accompanied by a single Huron, Louis Honaréennax, who was baptized but had since renounced Christianity. They suspected this man. In 1652 they had proof of his guilt. On that date Father Ragueneau added, under oath, the following lines to the manuscript which related the death of the martyrs: "I, the undersigned, Superior of the Canadian missions of the Society of Jesus, swear that I have written what is put down below concerning the death of Father Chabanel, in the year 1650, at the time when I was superior of the Huron mission. Since that time we have been informed by most reliable testimony that Father Noël Chabanel was killed by that Huron apostate whom we suspected. The assassin himself declared it, and he confessed, moreover, that he perpetrated this heinous crime in hatred of the faith, because he saw that all the misfortunes which had befallen his parents and himself dated from the time they embraced Christianity."[30] This was not done for personal vengeance but was truly a crime against religion, wreaked on the person of a priest, apostle, and representative of Christ. The deposition of the murderer, truthfully vouched for by Father Ragueneau, has always been regarded as absolutely probative and it has won the victim the right to be ranked among the martyrs of New France.

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[30] *Processus apostolicus.* Deposition of Mgr. Gosselin, professor of Canadian history, at present Rector of Laval University. The photographic reproduction of the original document, which is in Latin, is found in Father Jones's book, *Húronia,* p. 255.

As to Father Isaac Jogues, his sacrifice was made, so to say, twice. That he had suffered for the faith during his captivity of 1642-1643 is a matter beyond all discussion. At this time his companion, René Goupil, had the privilege of shedding all his blood for the faith. The Father endured "a thousand deaths," but returned to France "a little abashed that his sins had made him unworthy"[31] of the celestial palm. From that time, however, Pope Urban VIII did not hesitate to qualify him as a martyr. Jogues had had a thumb cut off and the other fingers lacerated, burned and twisted by the Iroquois. This mutilation was a canonical impediment to the celebration of the holy mysteries. The Sovereign Pontiff removed the impediment, declaring: *"Indignum esset Christi martyrem Christi non bibere sanguinem"* ("It would be unseemly for a martyr of Christ not to drink the blood of Christ").[32]

The blow of a hatchet on October 18, 1646, was the quick conclusion to the slow and terrible passion of 1642. Why did the Iroquois forswear their protestations of peace and friendship? In June, 1646, Father Jogues, having successfully concluded his diplomatic mission, entrusted a case containing various objects for his personal use to his hosts, the important Wolf family. Among these things were, apparently, the priestly vestments. The missionary, who planned to return to the Agniers [Mohawks] shortly, wished to avoid a double transport of his luggage. However, knowing the restless nature and the easily aroused suspicions of the savages, he showed them all that the trunk contained. After he left, an epidemic fell on the country and a plague of worms almost totally destroyed the crops. The sorcerers declared that the trunk of Jogues was the sole cause of these disasters. The Wolf and Turtle families pleaded in favor of the Frenchman; the Bear family shouted for war and immediately took the field. The news reached the banks of the St. Lawrence and Jogues, who was returning to the Iroquois country, found himself abandoned by all the savages who were accompanying him. Only Jean de La Lande remained with him. Undaunted, they both decided to go forward. Near the Lake of the Blessed Sacrament the enemies came on them and stripped them. Striking and cudgelling them, they brought them to the village of Ossernenon. A savage cut off bits of flesh from the arms and the back of Jogues and devoured it, saying, "Let us see whether this white flesh is the flesh of a Manitou." "No," replied the Jesuit, "I am only a man as you all are, but I fear neither death nor torture."

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[31] Letter of Jogues, January 5, 1644. Cited by Goyau, p. 174.

[32] *Processus apostolicus.* Deposition of Father Rochemonteix; and Goyau, p. 175.

The Wolf and Turtle families again tried to save him. They procured an assembly of ancients and chiefs, which decided to restore the captives to liberty. But while they deliberated the Bear family swore to make an end of the magician. While Father Jogues was praying in his cabin they came and invited him to a repast with the chief of the savages. Just as he crossed the threshold of the treacherous host, an Indian, hidden behind the door, split open his skull. Next day Jean de La Lande, who had voluntarily associated himself with the martyr's lot and on that account was caught in the same hatred, was in turn massacred. The heads of the two martyrs were placed on the stakes of the palisaded enclosure, their faces turned toward the road by which they had come.[33]

V

No doubt, these preliminary details are enough for our reader and he will wish to get to the Acts of the Martyrs without further delay.*

The coming of Father Brébeuf to the Hurons in 1634, told by himself, will be the first chapter of these Acts or rather their prologue in the form of a fascinating story. Then we shall have a statement of the subject, the general theme, as it were, of the work, and this under a triple aspect, in the "Notice of importance for those whom it should please God to call to New France," in the "Instruction for the Fathers of our Company who will be sent to the Hurons," and finally in the letter addressed to the Superior of the Missions in 1638 by Father Brébeuf at the moment when he, as well as his brethren, was threatened with death.

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[33] *Processus apostolicus.* Deposition of Father de Rochemonteix.

* In the French volume *Martyrs de la Nouvelle France* the present article of M. Rigault serves as introduction to a series of extracts from the Jesuit *Relations* embodying the most important contemporary source-material on the North American martyrs. For English versions of these extracts cf. Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaires in New France,* 1610-1791, 73 vols., The Burrows Brothers, Cleveland, 1897-1901; also Edna Kenton, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,* New York, 1925. (An abridgment of Thwaites's edition.)

In the Relations of 1643 and of 1647 the entire story, what we might call the Golden Legend, of Isaac Jogues will unfold itself before our eyes. Here, as in the ancient work of Jacques de Voragine, with all its charming simplicity but without its fantastic imagery, we shall see the wonders of faith, and the horrors of torture, even the surprising admonitions of dreams. What is preserved, confusedly enough, in the Relation of 1643, an indispensable document withal, is explained and completed by the pages written by Father Jerome Lalemant after the martyrdom of Jogues. Nothing remains obscure, nothing is forgotten of the aspect of the "apostle-slave" with the sorry mien transfigured by the love of God, of the timid heart that obedience and zeal raised to supreme boldness.

The Relations of 1649 and of 1650 tell us more briefly but with remarkable vigor and emotion of the death and the virtues of the other Jesuits.

Those, however, who wish to live in closer intimacy with these beautiful souls ought to read, in addition, the works which have been consecrated to them, especially those of Father Felix Martin, *Hurons et Iroquois: le Père Jean de Brébeuf, sa vie, ses travaux, son martyre* (Paris, Tequi, 1878), and *Le Père Isaac Joques, premier apôtre des Iroquois* (Paris, Albanel, 1873); the work of Father Frederic Rouvier, *Au berceau de l'autre France, le Canada* (Paris, Retaux, 1895); and finally the highly important books of Father Camille de Rochemonteix entitled: *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVIII^e^ siecle* (Paris, Letouzey, 1895-1896, 3 volumes).[34]

VI

We shall rest satisfied in conclusion with drawing from these texts some useful dates, landmarks in the itinerary we have marked out for the reader.

Father Jean de Brébeuf was born in the diocese of Bayeux at Condé-sur-Vire in 1593, on March 25, the Feast of the Annunciation. He studied philosophy two years and theology five years before entering the Society of Jesus. He was admitted to the novitiate at Rouen at the age of twenty-four, November 8, 1617. He taught grammar at the College of Rouen from 1619 to 1621. On March 25, 1623, he was ordained priest and left for Canada June 19, 1625. All the history of his life is identified with that of New France.

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[34] Cf. also Wynne, *The North American Martyrs;* Scott, *Isaac Jogues, Missionary and Martyr* (Jesuit Mission Press, 257 Fourth Ave., New York).

Father Antoine Daniel, another Norman, was born at Dieppe, May 27, 1601. His brother was that Captain Daniel who fought on the sea against the English and in 1629 constructed the first French fort at Cape Breton. Antoine Daniel entered the novitiate of Rouen, October 1, 1621, after having had two years of philosophy and a year of law. From 1623 to 1627 he was professor of the sixth, fifth, fourth and third classes at Rouen. Then he studied theology for three years at the college of Clermont in Paris. He taught the humanities at Eu; then was Minister of this college until his departure for Canada in 1634. From 1634 until his death he was attached to the Huron missions.

Charles Garnier, of a family of lawyers, was born at Paris, May 25, 1606. He was a pupil of the Fathers at the college of Clermont, entered the novitiate in 1624, and was ordained priest in 1636. He was sent to America as soon as he made his vows. He too pursued his entire apostolic career among the Hurons and their neighboring tribes.

Isaac Jogues was born in Orleans of a family whose name is found during all the eighteenth century in the parish archives of *Notre-Dame-de-Recouvrance* and who received burial in one of the chapels of this church. On January (or June) 10, 1607, he was baptized in the Church of St. Hilaire. He studied at the college founded by the Jesuits in Orleans, and on October 24, 1624, entered the Society of Jesus. He followed the course of philosophy at the college of La Flèche from 1626 to 1629, was professor at Rouen from 1629 to 1633, and studied theology at Paris in the college of Clermont frm 1633 to 1636. He celebrated his first Mass at Orleans in 1636, and this same year set out for Canada after having long dreamt of being a missionary to the Ethiopians. He was sent on the Huron missions a short time after his arrival in Quebec. Father Jerome Lalemant, Superior of the missions, sent him to preach to the savages of the Blue Mountains in 1640 in company with Father Garnier. In 1641, together with Father Raymbault, he explored the shores of Lake Superior. The Relations inform us minutely concerning his life from 1642 onward.

Gabriel Lalemant, born in Paris, October 10, 1610, was the son of Jacques Lalemant, parliamentary advocate. While still young, he manifested a singular aptitude for letters and the sciences. March 24, 1630, he became a Jesuit in the novitiate of Paris. He taught in the college of Moulins from 1632 to 1635 and studied theology at Bourges from 1635 to 1639. The delicacy of his health obliged him to take a rest at La Flèche from 1639 to 1641. He returned to Moulins as professor from 1641 to 1644 and this latter year was named Prefect of the college of Bourges. Acceding to his repeated requests the Provincial of France consented to appoint him to the Canadian missions. Gabriel Lalemant embarked June 13, 1646, at the port of La Rochelle. In Quebec he found as Superior his uncle, Father Jerome, who employed him in various way for two years. On August 6, 1648, he arrived in the country of the Hurons where he was associated with Father Jean de Brébeuf.

Noël Chabanel was born February 2, 1613, in the diocese of Mende. He entered the novitiate of Toulouse on February 9, 1630, studied philosophy here from 1632 to 1634, was professor at the college of Toulouse until 1642, and departed for Canada in 1643, reaching Quebec the 15th of August. He came to the Hurons the next year. A heroic vow bound him to the missions of France, even though he had extraordinary difficulty in remembering and speaking the Indian languages and an extreme aversion for the manner of life that had to be led among the savages.

The information which we have concerning the two *"donnés,"* René Goupil and Jean de La Lande, is not abundant. Goupil was thirty-five years old when he was killed by the Iroquois September 29, 1642. He was born at Angers and had studied surgery. He was for several months a Jesuit novice at Paris, but his health became precarious and he was obliged to give up the religious life. Persisting, nevertheless, in his desire for sacrifice, he asked permission to serve the Fathers all his life for the love of God. They sent him, as a *"donné"* to the Huron country where he was taken prisoner with Father Jogues. During his captivity he pronounced the vows which bound him, in a definite manner, to the Society.

Jean de La Lande was born at Dieppe and went to Canada to enter the service of the Jesuits without wages and for life. He accompanied Father Jogues to the Iroquois territory with a full knowledge of the perils to be encountered on that journey of 1646 which led them both to martyrdom.

Paris GEORGES RIGAULT

THE WINNEBAGO MISSION: A *CAUSE CELEBRE*

This is not the history of the Winnebago mission; it is rather the account of a struggle for the control of the spiritual destiny of the Winnebago Indians, involving Catholic bishops and Catholic missionaries on the one hand, and on the other hand Presbyterian ministers backed at various times by a United States Indian agent, a territorial governor and a future President of the United States, who was also a military hero. Besides these the United States Commissioners of Indian Affairs, officers of the United States army, prominent statesmen and civilians and two actual Presidents of the United States were either directly or indirectly implicated at one time or another. A number of letters lying quietly through the years in several historical libraries and in the Office of Indian Affairs at Washington have recently been unearthed by the writer and their pages unfold a discouraging but a poignantly interesting story.[1]

I

In 1830 the brilliant and cultured Dominican, Father Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli began his missionary labors among the Indian tribes first in Michigan and then in Wisconsin. As his numerous conversions prove, his zeal met with extraordinary success. In September of 1832 his journeyings brought him to Prairie du Chien, a little frontier town on the Mississippi, in which was located the United States military post, Fort Crawford. During this same month down at Rock Island, a treaty was being arranged between the United States government and the Winnebago Indian tribe, whereby this tribe was to leave its lands in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin and ultimately move to the Neutral Ground in Iowa, and whereby, further, the government was to erect a building or several buildings with a farm attached, in the vicinity of Fort Crawford, for the purpose of establishing a boarding school for the education of the Winnebago children. These children were to be taught, "according to their age and sex, reading, writing, arithmetic, gardening, agriculture, carding, spinning, weaving, sewing, and such other branches of useful knowledge as the President of the United States might prescribe."[2] Three thousand dollars was to be the maximum allowance for the annual maintenance of the school.

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[1] For the Winnebago school and agency in Iowa, first on the Yellow river, then on the Turkey river, see the following: "The School on Yellow River," by Bruce Mahan, in the *Palimpsest* (Dec. 1924); the same author's *Old Fort Crawford and the Frontier* (1926), Chaps. XIII and XIV; Mahan and Gallaher's *Stories of Iowa for Boys and Girls* (1929), Chaps. XVIII and XIX; "The Neutral Ground" by Jacob Van Der Zee, and "The Indians of Iowa in 1842" in *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* vol. 13, (1916); "Indian Agents in Iowa, II," by Ruth Gallaher, *ibid.,* vol. 14, (1916); "The Wisconsin Winnebagoes. An Interview with Moses Paquette" in *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* vol. XIII, (1892); various articles and letters in *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series) dealing with General Joseph Montfort Street and with the Winnebago Agency; and "Indian Schools," a thesis by Martha Edwards, in MS Dept. Wis. State Hist. Library, Chaps. VI and XII.

At this time the Winnebago Indian agent at Prairie du Chien was Joseph M. Street, a God-fearing and fervent gentleman of Presbyterian inclinations and connections, and in general, an upright and honorable man; and to him was entrusted the selection of the site and general preparations for the school. It is probable that during this sojourn of Father Mazzuchelli at Prairie du Chien, the missioner knew nothing of the recently enacted treaty. He may have met Agent Street at this time; if not, he certainly learned to know him during the years immediately following. Agent Street wrote to the Reverend David Lowry, a minister of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, offering him the superintendency of the contemplated school. Several writers state that President Andrew Jackson appointed the Reverend Mr. Lowry, but this, of course, was a mere formality. It was Mr. Street who actually chose him from Cumberland College, Princeton, Kentucky, where he and Street had become friends. Street's son William wrote later that in 1833 "father got Mr. Lowry to consent to come out and take charge of the school."[3] Agent Street himself in after years writing to Lowry alludes to the fact that with "full confidence in you as a servant of God, I wrote you desiring you to take up the case . . . . You at once entered into the same exciting views of the subject, and determined to make the sacrifice yourself, and came immediately on."[4] Agent Street and the Rev. Mr. Lowry addressed one another in their correspondence as "Brother Lowry" and "Brother Street." During his early years at Prairie du Chien, Agent Street acted as a sort of minister: "he started a prayer meeting in his own house on Sundays, at which he would read a sermon."[5] His letters to the Rev. Mr. Lowry indicate that he hoped to make the government school for the Winnebago children a missionary center whence should proceed a benign religious influence to soften the savage hearts.

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[2] Article IV of the Winnebago Treaty of 1832.

[3] *Annals of Iowa,* vol. 111, p. 618.

[4] *Ibid.,* vol. XV, p. 617.

Father Mazzuchelli had come into occasional contact with the Winnebago, and in April of 1833, a few months after his sojourn at Prairie du Chien, he opened up a mission among these Indians near what is now Portage and the Dells of Wisconsin. His facile talents aided him in rapidly learning their language and he made a number of converts, including some among the half-breeds. He prepared a little prayer-book in their own language, entitled *Ocangra Aramee Wawakakara,* which was printed at Detroit. While engaged in his labors among the Winnebago he heard of the contemplated government school for these Indians. During his earliest missionary activities he had become indignant over the fact that although he had converted almost entire groups of the Menominee, Ottawa and Chippewa, Protestant ministers among them who had no followers were nevertheless receiving government aid for their missions.[6] Being now attached to the Winnebago he determined to make application for their school himself. Agent Street's granddaughter in a recent article states the matter in peculiar language, to say the least: "The conflict came in 1833 when Father Mazzuchelli applied to Governor Porter at Detroit for Catholic [*sic*] control of the Winnebago school. He was too late, however, as David Lowry, a Protestant, was already at Prairie du Chien."[7] This may have been the excuse proffered to refuse Father Mazzuchelli's application, but it is difficult to see how he was too late as he had been in Prairie du Chien in 1832, and since April, 1833, was not far away on the Wisconsin river, only eight miles from Fort Winnebago. Rev. Mr. Lowry did not arrive in Prairie du Chien until September 7, 1833.[8] Furthermore, Father Mazzuchelli knew that he was well qualified for the position of superintendent of an Indian school; he had behind him several years' experience of almost unsurpassed success among the Indians, he was now well established among the very Winnebago for whose children the school was to be conducted, and he was already familiar with their difficult language. Lowry, on the other hand, arrived in Prairie du Chien, unacquainted with the Northwest, and totally ignorant of Indian ways, habits and language. Indeed, the letter from Commissioner of Indian Affairs Elbert Herring of April 2, 1833, stated specifically that those to be in charge of the Indian school should be "moral, faithful and industrious, *if possible acquainted with Indian manners,* and prepared to devote their whole time and faculties to the employment. They must have no other business" [Italics ours].[9] In view of Mr. Street's apparent indifference to these instructions, Father Mazzuchelli cannot be blamed if later in his letters he referred to the Indian agent as a not entirely honorable man. Street's granddaughter stated that the agent "was not, perhaps, at all times as discreet as he might have been, especially in the first few years at Prairie du Chien."[10]

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[5] *Ibid.,* vol. II, p. 89.

[6] For Mazzuchelli and the Winnebago, see his *Memoirs of a Missionary Apostolic, etc.* (English Translation, 1915.)

[7] *Annals of Iowa,* vol. XVII, (October, 1929), p. 114.

[8] *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* vol. XIII, p. 342; *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* vol. XV, p. 108.

Mr. Street, to whom was entrusted the task of selecting a site for the school, chose a location to the west of the Mississippi river, about ten miles from Fort Crawford and Prairie du Chien, and six miles inland from the Mississippi on the Yellow river. The buildings were completed in the fall of 1834 and school commenced in April of 1835. Mr. Lowry's appointment there dated from January 1, 1835.

During 1834 and 1835 there were others who supported Father Mazzuchelli in his as yet persevering hope to become superintendent of the Winnebago school. Prominent among them were the chiefs of the Winnebago tribe, who through their agent at Fort Winnebago, Captain Robert A. McCabe, in the summer of 1834 had demanded that Father Mazzuchelli be appointed director of their school.[11] Notable among those who opposed this selection, and perhaps foremost of them all, was Colonel Zachary Taylor, commander of Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien, who later became President of the United States. In that portion of his letter of July 2, 1835, to General Wm. Clark of St. Louis, which is here quoted because it deals with Father Mazzuchelli, his intemperate and offensive language in reference to the illustrious Dominican is certainly astonishing. Wrote the future President:

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[9] *Annals of Iowa,* vol. III, p. 614.

[10] *Ibid.,* vol. VI, p. 371.

[11] Mazzuchelli, *Memoirs, ut supra,* p. 129.

> "The other communication alluded to from the Actg. Secty. of War states that the Indians are dissatisfied with the Teacher employed in the Winnebago School established under the Treaty and that they want a certain Mr. Mazzuchelli to be appointed. It is unnecessary to disguise the deep mortification I felt on reading this communication as I am persuaded the Indians know little or nothing, and care less as to the doctrines, tenets etc. of the individual employed as Teacher in the school, nor have they ever moved in this business further than they have been seduced by others. Have we come to this that an American citizen, against whom no charge has ever been made (so far as has ever come to my knowledge) either for want of zeal, industry, integrity or for capacity for the station which he filled, is to be turned out of office to make room for a Foreigner, an Italian Catholic priest, at the instance of a few individuals concerned with the American Fur Company (some of whom are foreigners by birth, and took up arms against this country during the last war with England which fact you well know) for the gratification of their vindictive or superstitious feelings, and under the expectation that he could be used to their pecuniary advantage *which no doubt would be the case so far as the funds of the school were concerned"* (Italics ours).[12]

Fortunately for Father Mazzuchelli, our historical perspective today permits us to form a proper evaluation of his pure and ardent American patriotism and unimpeachable honor. Foreigner he had been (he became a naturalized citizen), but no American's speeches, writings or actual deeds ever breathed a greater love and admiration for this republic and her institutions than did those of Father Mazzuchelli. It was unfortunate that probably among those who favored his selection for the school was Joseph Rolette, a dishonest and unscrupulous member of the American Fur Company, who had aided the British in the War of 1812; but this was no fault of the Dominican missioner, who in fact mistrusted Rolette and stated so in a letter to General George W. Jones, the Wisconsin territorial delegate, the following year.[13] These "foreign" fur-traders of Prairie du Chien—French Canadians and Scotch Canadians—must have been a thorn in Colonel Taylor's side, for a little group of them with their Indian allies in September of 1814 during the war to which he alludes had at Rock Island on the

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[12] Original of this letter in the Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C.; photostatic copy in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin Library.

[13] Mazzuchelli to Jones, Feb. 20, 1836, Prairie du Chien. Original in MS. Department of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa, Des Moines.

Mississippi scored a dazzling victory over him and forced him with his eight armed boats filled with soldiers to commence an ignominious retreat down the river and put a stain on his otherwise brilliant military career.[14] But Colonel Taylor's disrespectful phrases, "a Foreigner, an Italian Catholic priest," and "the gratification of superstitious feelings," and especially his scurrilous and slanderous accusation that Father Mazzuchelli would "no doubt" be a tool of scoundrels for stealing school funds, are difficult to explain except on the ground that he was already infected with the virus of incipient Know Nothingism. For the Southern slaveholding Whigs, to which class Colonel Taylor belonged, were closely allied with the Know Nothings in their hatred of foreigners, whose liberal ideals and hostility toward slavery were beginning to be noticed. And in fact, in 1847 the Native Americans, the successors of the Know Nothings, endorsed Zachary Taylor for President.[15]

The following letter from Commissioner of Indian Affairs Herring to Colonel Taylor is interesting in that it indicates the utter hopelessness of Father Mazzuchelli's ambition and reveals the failure of the school under the Rev. Mr. Lowry:

War Department
Office Indian Affairs
September 5, 1835

To Colo.
Z. Taylor, U. S. A.
Comdg. at Fort Crawford etc.

Sir,

The account, recently received from Mr. Lowry and yourself, of the condition of the Winnebago School at Prairie du Chien, has been submitted to the Secretary of War.

He has instructed me to say, that he feels great regret that so few children have entered the school, and that there is so little prospect of any beneficial result from the very liberal provision made in the treaty, for education. If the terms of the treaty were not positive, he would feel himself bound to direct the immediate discontinuance of the School. As this cannot properly be done, he desires that you will inform the teachers, that if the number of scholars is not considerably increased before the close of the present year, it will be a matter of duty to reduce their compensation, which is altogether disproportioned to the few children they are now instructing.[16]

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[14] "Anderson's Journal" in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* vol. IX; Downer's *History of Davenport and Scott County, Iowa,* pp. 79-82.

[15] Schlesinger, *Political and Social History of the United States,* pp. 134, 145; Bassett, *A Short History of the United States,* p. 463.

So long as the school remains in its present unpromising condition, no advantage can be anticipated from the visits and examinations of the Inspectors named in the treaty. The Department therefore relies solely upon your vigilant superintendence, and the cordial cooperation with you of the teachers. As the Agency will continue under your charge, it will depend very much upon yourself, whether the intention of the parties to the treaty shall be realized in the education and improvement of the Indian Youth. And the Department doubts not that you will cheerfully exert yourself to secure this result.

It has been represented, that the obstacles to the success of the school were interposed by the party opposed to emigration to the west bank of the Mississippi, who were anxious to remain on the east side, and enjoy there the benefits of the treaty; and by the Catholics, who wished to obtain for themselves the direction of the establishment. If these things be so, you can say distinctly to all parties, that the attainment of these objects is utterly hopeless. The treaty prescribes the expenditure of the funds for education and for farming establishments West of the river, and it will be steadily adhered to. And no change whatever will be made, at present, of the persons entrusted with the Superintendence of the School.

I will thank you to communicate these views to Mr. Loury, and shall be happy to receive from either of you, at any time, suggestions of measures for securing a more general diffusion of the advantages of education among the children of the Winnebagoes.—

Very etc.,

Elbert Herring.[17]

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[16] Commissioner Herring's language in regard to the failure of the Winnebago school is strongly reminiscent of the language used by Senator George G. Vest of Missouri in his famous speech delivered in the United States Senate, April 7, 1900, when reporting on his investigation of the Indian schools of the West:

"Mr. President, every dollar you give these day schools might as well be thrown into the Potomac River under a ton of lead. You will make no more impression upon the Indian children than if you should take that money and burn it and expect its smoke by some mystic process to bring them from idolatry and degradation to Christianity and civilization. If you can have the same system of boarding schools supported by the government that the Jesuits have adopted after long years of trial and deprivation, I grant that there might be something done in the way of elevating this race . . . .

"I was raised a Protestant; I expect to die one; I was never in a Catholic Church in my life . . . . I was reared in the old Scotch Presbyterian Church; my father was an elder in it . . . . I wish to say now what I have said before in the Senate, and it is not the popular side of this question by any means, that I did not see in all my journey, which lasted for several weeks, a single school that was doing any educational work worthy the name of educational work unless it was under the control of the Jesuits."—*Famous American Statesmen and Orators,* vol. VI, pp. 328-339.

[17] Indian Office Letter Book 17. Aug. 24, 1835—Jan. 31, 1836. Photostatic copy in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Of all this the Dominican missioner later wrote briefly and rather bitterly in his Memoirs: "In spite of this [the petitions in Father Mazzuchelli's favor] a Calvanistic minister was assigned to the place. So he with his wife and his sons came into possession of a fine dwelling, as much land as he desired, and the aforesaid annual sum with other sources of revenue which it would take too long to enumerate. In this school a few Indian children of Canadian or English fathers received the first rudiments of education, but the chief benefit fell to the minister, who then became the Indian Agent with a good salary from the Government. If it were asked how many adult Indians were converted to the Presbyterian creed, I believe that no one could answer to the very difficult question."[18]

In this latter regard, however, Father Mazzuchelli's efforts bore striking fruit. Already in January, 1835, the Register of Baptisms administered among the Winnebago showed three hundred and ten names, and there were more than thirty baptisms which had not been registered. And this was done in the face of great difficulties, as the missioner indicated. "The Protestant Mission to the west of the great river, with its abundant means and influence, both pecuniary and sectarian, put many obstacles in the progress of Catholicity. The Missionary [Father Mazzuchelli] found himself entirely destitute of means, even the most necessary—for instance to pay for the services of an interpreter, expenses of travel and even food; on one occasion he lived for a week on bread and butter only, which he had brought himself in his scanty luggage, for the bad weather and absence of the hunters made it impossible to procure other provisions."[19]

The granddaughter of General Street, the agent, quotes with approval the following statement from a manuscript article on "Indian Missions" in the Wisconsin State Historical Library: "The Winnebago school was unique in one particular, it was the first government school established for the Indians with no sectarian influence or control. Although Lowry was a minister of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, he held that a minister of the gospel should not take an active part in politics and he had no party allegiance."[20] To the contrary, under such zealots as Street and Lowry, this school became a center for narrow and rigid sectarian influence. Street had started sermonizing and evangelizing among the Indians long before the arrival of Lowry. Stated William Street, his son: "Finding the Roman Catholic Mission at Prairie du Chien was doing little or nothing for the moral instruction of the Indians, Street started Sunday meetings in his home to which the Indians were invited. In these meetings, he wisely avoided theology, giving instead plain, practical sermons on right living."[21] This allegation that the Roman Catholic Mission was doing nothing for the Indians is false, for the reason that there was no Roman Catholic Mission at Prairie du Chien at this time. During the term of Mr. Street's agency in Prairie du Chien, Father François Vincent Badin, younger brother of Father Stephen Theodore Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States, was able to take time from his strenuous missionary endeavors to pay Prairie du Chien a short visit once a year in 1827, 1828 and 1829; Father Anthony Lutz of St. Louis was there a short while in 1831 at the time of the Menominee massacre and Father Mazzuchelli as mentioned before in 1832. There was no "Mission" or resident priest in Prairie du Chien until 1840.[22]

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[18] Mazzuchelli, *Memoirs, ut supra,* p. 129.

[19] *Ibid.,* pp. 138, 143.

[20] *Annals of Iowa,* vol. XVII, p. 114.

The Rev. Mr. Lowry continued the evangelizing while in charge of the government school to such an extent that it was called "The Presbyterian Indian mission on the Yellow river."[23] A Congregationalist missioner in 1835 stated: "The Cumberland Presbyterians have a mission, or rather a missionary under the patronage of Gov't established near Prairie du Chien."[24] The Rev. Lowry "preached to us and superintended the agency," stated one of the pupils in later years. "Of course the religious teaching was wholly of the Presbyterian cast, and the children were very good Presbyterians so long as they remained at the mission; but most of them relapsed into their ancient heathenism as soon as removed from Mr. Lowry's care."[25] And among these pupils were some children of Catholic parents.

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[21] "Historical Biography of Joseph Montfort Street," by Johnson Brigham in *Iowa—Its History and Its Foremost Citizens,* vol. I, p. 44.

[22] "Pioneer Priests at Prairie du Chien" by Dr. P. L. Scanlan in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History,* vol. XIII (Dec., 1929), pp. 102, 103.

[23] *Wisconsin Historical Collection,* vol. XII, p. 405.

[24] *Ibid.,* vol. XV, p. 107. The Rev. Cutting Marsh, a distinguished minister, was the writer.

[25] *Ibid.,* vol. XII, p. 406. Moses Paquette in "The Wisconsin Winnebagoes."

The school was never a success under Mr. Lowry. When Agent Street inspected the institution on April 30, 1835, he found only six pupils attending; in May there were nine.[26] Even when the numbers increased somewhat in the few more years the school stood on the Yellow river, it was due partly to the attendance of white and part white children. General Street's own son was enrolled as a pupil.

Father Mazzuchelli still kept up his interest in the Winnebago. He hoped to have a Catholic chaplain attached to Mr. Lowry's staff to look after the numerous Catholic Winnebago. He wrote an interesting letter on the subject to General George W. Jones, who was the territorial delegate at Washington, dated Prairie du Chien, the 9th of February, 1836. In it he makes the startling statement that he had written President Andrew Jackson the year before in behalf of the Winnebago interests, and he warns General Jones against Street: "To be a friend of Gl Street is the same as to be very unpopular; for his character is that of a great hypocrite." In reference to the school he wrote in the still somewhat unfamiliar English:

> Last summer I wrote to you about the Winnebago School near Prairie du Chien, and told you that Mr. Lowry who is superintendent of the same could do nothing for the Indians. Today I went to see the school (8 or 9 miles from this village). It is really disgraceful to the Government. It is now 18 months that the mission is opened. He has but 2 Indian boys and 5 females, not one pure Indian, only 2 with some Winnebago blood, the others are part Menominee or Sioux or white; not a particle of good done, and none to be expected. That mission was Government paid with Indian money $4500. The Indians refuse to give their children and ask for a Priest. The agents never look for the real good of those poor creatures; speculation is their God; so they often blind the Government. It's evil and unjust to use so much of their money to no purpose and against their will. Most all the inhabitants of this place are Catholics, who with the rest do condemn the present condition of the school now extremely unpopular and with the Government to remedy the evil. Mr. Jones, please do call on the President and read the letter I wrote to him in the month of May last from St. Louis, and in a few lines you will be enabled to see everything. My intention is to have an assistant Priest in the Indian school. Mr. Kane of Illinois promised me last summer to do his best before the President himself. He knew my claim to be nothing but justice to the Indians. My letter to the President was probably sent to the Indian Department, with the little Winnebago book I printed and sent

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[26] "The School on Yellow River," p. 448. See note 1.

with the letter. Please sir to serve me in this matter and write me at Galena as soon as possible.

Your Friend
Samuel Mazzuchelli, O. P.[27]

Toward the end of the following month—on March 29, 1836 the Dominican wrote General Jones at Washington from Galena, Illinois, and in speaking again of the Winnebago mentioned the little school he had himself for a time conducted at his own expense near Fort Winnebago:

> Since the year 1832 I had the best opportunity of knowing the character and disposition of these Indians; having different periods spent a considerable time in their villages, for the purpose of propagating among them those religious and political principles which are the foundation of human happiness. My endeavors were crowned with as good a success as I expected, and enabled me to publish a little book in the Winnebago language, and to establish a regular school. But left all alone, without the least support, utterly unable to defray my small expenses, I was compelled to abandon the Indian band, and the most charitable of all undertakings. This appeared in the spring of the year 1835. It appears, from the statement of Mr. Herring [*Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington*], that the Catholics have a school among the Winnebagoes. This is not the case now; and from the same statement you believe that I, the only Catholic Priest who lives among the Winnebagoes, received an appropriation: This is not true, for I never received a cent from the Government directly or indirectly. . . . .
>
> The Government solemnly promised the Indians, in consideration of the land they ceded to the U. S. to support 6 agriculturists and 12 pair of oxen during 30 years for the benefit of that nation. It is only about 18 months two men so far as it can be ascertained, are employed about the Winnebago mission house built on Yellow river near Prairie du Chien, which mission has for its support an appropriation of $3,000 per annum. Even in the supposition that these two men are agriculturists for the Winnebagoes that nation is unjustly deprived of *four*. As to the two or three pair of oxen and ploughs about the same mission it would be difficult to say who is the owner of them, and for whom they work, if they work at all. Six agriculturists well employed since the spring of the year 1833 could in my estimation have reconciled the Winnebago with the U. S. That article of the treaty that spoke of the schools shows how little the writer of it was acquainted with the Indian character. On this head the Winnebagoes are shamefully abused. Persons utterly incapable to instruct them are approved teachers, and that class of men wished by the Indians, and generally known as . . . . [indecipherable] . . . . to that office are by the Government entirely disregarded. The Government may be considered

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[27] In Jones Letter Collection, MS. Department, Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa, Des Moines.

as guilty of solemnly promising the Indians to instruct them, and neglecting the proper means to convey instruction to them.[28]

In December, 1837, the Winnebago school had an enrollment of forty-one pupils; in December, 1838, the attendance fell to thirty-six. In July of 1839, the Rev. Mr. Lowry secured the appointment of sub-agent of the Winnebago in the new post of Fort Atkinson on the Turkey river, and during the following year under a new superintendent, the school had its largest attendance—seventy-nine pupils, of whom however only fifteen lived at the school.

Lowry, probably feeling that some explanation was necessary for the school's future, "had complained that they were not prospering on account of the opposition of the traders and lack of proper care on the part of the government in carrying out the stipulations of the treaty of 1832."[29] And as an evidence that his institution nevertheless did flourish, he furnished the government with a letter signed by several "disinterested" visitors.[30]

That Father Mazzuchelli's appraisal of Mr. Lowry's ability or rather lack of ability was correct is borne out by the statements in later years of the children of Agent Street, who knew the superintendent well. Thomas P. Street described Lowry as a weak and vacillating character.[31] William Street and his brother A. W. accused him of double-dealing.[32] Ida M. Street, the agent's granddaughter, wrote of him: "Although well prepared, he does not seem to have been the best man for the place. He neither won the confidence of the Indians nor established a good manual training school. The buildings were there, and the Indians were there, but the school was not the success its well-wishers had hoped for. Among the family letters is one to William [Street] from his father, reproving him for calling Mr. Lowry double-faced. William had been in the school under Mr. Lowry, and thought he knew him better than his father did. Indeed, Mr. Street, although an honest and honorable man himself, was not a keen judge of human nature, and was liable to make mistakes in his choice of assistants."[33]

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[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Annals of Iowa,* vol. II, p. 100.

[30] *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* vol. 13, p. 344.

[31] *Annals of Iowa,* vol. VII, p. 194.

[32] *Ibid.,* vol. XVII, pp. 136, 137.

[33] *Ibid.,* vol. VI, p. 364.

II

In 1839 Bishop Mathias Loras arrived in his tiny see-city of Dubuque in the Iowa Territory. He immediately busied himself with the task of converting the savages of his immense diocese, which stretched to the Canadian border and to the Missouri river. The Sioux, the most numerous tribe, were scattered about in what is now Minnesota. But nearer Dubuque, on the Turkey river in northern Iowa, a new sub-agency was being established at Fort Atkinson, and to this sub-agency the Winnebago were being brought from Wisconsin and Illinois. The newly appointed sub-agent was Rev. David Lowry. The Winnebago school was also moved from the Yellow river to the Turkey river agency.

On July 1, 1840, Bishop Loras confirmed "at the little Chute" south of the mouth of the Turkey river about thirty-six Catholic Winnebago, probably converts of Father Mazzuchelli.[34] His interest in these Indians became aroused and in 1842 when the agency on the Turkey river became somewhat organized, he sent to them as missioner, Father Remigius Petiot, whom he had brought with him from France. This young priest showed great facility for acquiring languages, a facility which was required because the Winnebago speech was a difficult tongue. Under the heading "Baptisms conferred by Mr. Petiot when among the Winnebago" the Baptismal Register of the old stone cathedral of Dubuque shows nineteen baptisms from April 27 to July 14, 1842. "But," wrote that eminent historian, John Gilmary Shea, "the missionary was soon driven out at the instigation of the Indian agent"[35]—who, as was just stated, was none other than the Rev. David Lowry.

While working among the Winnebago, Father Petiot stayed occasionally at Prairie du Chien with the Abbé Joseph Cretin, who made this town his headquarters from 1841 to 1844. Father Cretin, later the first bishop of St. Paul, then took up the missionary work among the Indians after Father Petiot's departure. A remarkably able man was Father Cretin. Ordained at famed St. Sulpice in Paris, he became vicar at Ferney, for many years the home of Voltaire, prince of modern infidels and French literature, and his special objective there was the uprooting of the rationalistic influences and traditions surviving this philosopher. In 1830 he refused to offer public prayers for the new king, Louis Philippe, and he fell under sharp displeasure at Paris for a time. He left France for America in 1838 with Bishop Loras, and served under the latter from the very beginning as vicar-general of the Dubuque diocese. Now at the age of forty-five, he attacked and mastered the obstinate Winnebago tongue and zealously carried on the work of conversion among the savages. He was visited while on the Turkey river by Bishop Loras, who had come up from Dubuque in a cart driven by oxen and who offered up holy Mass there among the Indians.[36]

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[34] Confirmation Record Book of Bishop Loras, Columbia College Library, Dubuque.

[35] John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the U. S.*, vol. IV, p. 245.

The poor Winnebago, a very inferior tribe, morally and otherwise, while in Wisconsin, deteriorated still more on the Turkey river in Iowa. They were the victims of dishonest traders and unscrupulous liquor vendors. Two vicious white settlements known as Sodom and Gomorrah, *nomen omen,* were located just across the reservation boundary and did a thriving business.[37] In discouragement a few groups of the savages endeavored to go back to their old haunts in Wisconsin. It is interesting to note that the old Dubuque Baptismal Register just referred to records on October 17 and 18, 1843, the conversion and baptism of three Winnebago women "in the prison of the city of Dubuque." Governor John Chambers of Iowa characterized their nation as "the most drunken, worthless and degraded tribe of which I have any knowledge";[38] and in his message of 1845, he complained that among them "the chase is almost abandoned and the council fires, if kindled at all, seem only intended to light up the wretched scene of their drunkenness and debauchery."

It was among those pitiful souls that Father Cretin was toiling when, by the removal of the Rev. David Lowry from the sub-agency by President John Tyler on July 5, 1844, a new and apparently more favorable set of conditions confronted him. James MacGregor, Jr., was appointed sub-agent for the Winnebago reservation. He was a noted pioneer of the upper valley and the town of McGregor, Iowa, on the Mississippi, was named after him. MacGregor had noticed the successful work of Father Cretin among the Winnebago, especially among their half-breeds, and had seen the respect the latter had for him and for his work in behalf of sobriety among their drunken ranks. At the same time, the sub-agent had become extremely dissatisfied with the superintendent of the Winnebago school, the Rev. John L. Seymour, and his assistants. He attempted to dismiss them, because, as he wrote to John Chambers, the territorial governor of Iowa, "they exercised no moral influence on the Indians, and therefore the School could not possibly flourish under their auspices. This may be owing to inability, carelessness, or wilful neglect of duty. In either case they are incompetent to the discharge of the duties heretofore confided to them." And of this charge, he added "I have become satisfied by personal observation. One fact alone would be sufficient, even if unsustained—viz—that the 'School Bands' who reside immediately in the neighborhood of the School, are by far the most worthless of the whole nation. They afforded the fairest subjects for the exertion of moral and religious instruction, and if they have not profited, it is not uncharitable to suppose that the requisite instructions were not attempted or were inefficiently made."[39]

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[36] Letters in Dubuque Archdiocesan Chancery.

[37] "The Conquest of Sodom" in the *Annals of Iowa,* vol. VIII (First Series), October, 1870, p. 309.

[38] *John Chambers,* by John Carl Parish, p. 187.

Then occured a clash between the backers of Rev. Mr. Seymour and the friends of Father Cretin similar to the clash between the respective groups behind the Rev. Mr. Lowry and Father Mazzuchelli a few years before. The Rev. Mr. Seymour left for the executive office at Burlington, Iowa, with a letter of recommendation which he had requested Major Dearborn, in command of Fort Atkinson, to inscribe for him.[40] Sub-agent MacGregor countered a few days later with a letter recommending Father Cretin for the position of superintendent of the school:

Turkey River, Sub-Ind. Agency
Oct. 29th, 1844

Sir:

I would beg leave respectfully to nominate Joseph Cretin for the appointment of Superintendent of the "Winnebago School," at this place.

Mr. Cretin is a Catholic Priest, at present attached to the Church at

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[39] MacGregor to Chambers, Turkey River Sub. Ind. Agency, Oct. 26, 1844. In Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C.

[40] Dearborn to Chambers, Fort Atkinson, Oct. 21, 1844. In Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C. Dearborn stated: "The bearer of this . . . . requested me to write you a note."

Dubuque, and recently from Prairie du Chien, where he sustained the reputation of a highly intelligent and useful man, and is universally respected by all classes. Mr. Cretin from his connection with the Half Breed relations of the Winnebagoes at Prairie du Chien and the influence he has obtained over them, in my opinion is better qualified to secure the respect, attention and sympathy of the Indians, than any other man who could be selected.

During the payment of the annuity goods at this place, I had personal opportunities of observing the influence of Mr. Cretin over the Half Breeds, and the respect entertained for him by many of the Indians, as an evidence of this, at that time not a drunken Indian was to be found on the ground.

Respectfully
Your obt. Svt.
James MacGregor
U. S. Sub-Ind. Agt.[41]

His Excellency
John Chambers Supt. Ind. Affs.
Burlington, I. T.

A number of other prominent citizens sent recommendations for Father Cretin to Governor Chambers:

Dubuque, Iowa
2d November, 1844

To His Excellency, John Chambers
Govr. and Supt. Ind. Affairs
Burlington, Iowa.

Sir:

The well known fact that Catholic clergymen have been the most successful on Indian Missions together with the moral and religious deportment of the Rev. Mr. Cretin, and the reputation sustained by the schools under his control in this city, particularly that of the female under the care of the "Sisters of Charity" induce us to concur with Judge Lockwood and Mr. MacGregor in recommending his appointment as Superintendent of the Winnebago School.

Very respectfully Sir
Your obt. Servants
Charles Corkens
John King

I cheerfully concur with the above gentlemen, and believe that with the addition to the school of the "Sisters of Charity" which I understand is contemplated, the arrangement would promise greater benefit to the Indians than any other that could be made.

Timothy Davis.[42]

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[41] Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C.

[42] Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C.

These were amongst the most distinguished men in Iowa at that time. The Hon. Chas. Corkery (his name was incorrectly transcribed Corkens on the copy in the Indian Office Files) was the Probate Judge of Dubuque County. The Hon. John King, when Iowa was still a part of the Michigan Territory, had been commissioned "Chief Justice of the County Court of Dubuque County," but his title to singular distinction is that he was the owner and editor of the "DuBuque *Visitor,*" the first paper published north of St. Louis and west of the Mississippi, its first issue appearing on May 11, 1836. Timothy Davis, a Dubuque attorney, was subsequently a U. S. Representative in Congress from the Northern District of Iowa, and a candidate for the United States Senate.[43]

The nuns referred to in this petition were the Sisters of Charity of the B. V. M. who had come to Dubuque from Philadelphia in 1843. Had they been installed as teachers in the Winnebago school, its future would have been assured if the phenomenal success of this order as teachers from that day to this is any criterion. In fact the history of our Indian schools indicates strikingly the uniform success of teaching orders among the savages.

The Governor also received letters recommending Father Cretin from Bishop Loras and from the Hon. James H. Lockwood, who had been a member of the Wisconsin territorial judiciary and legislature, and who in 1857 was hailed as "the oldest Anglo-American settler in Wisconsin." Of these petitioners, Judge Corkery was the only one besides Bishop Loras who was a Catholic.[44]

But Governor Chambers stubbornly refused to be convinced. He sent the recommendations on to T. Hartley Crawford, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and after speaking of the signers of the petitions for Father Cretin as "gentlemen of great respectability" he waved aside their recommendations with the statement that "I am sadly annoyed by applications for employment at the Sub-Agency of Mr. MacGregor" and concluded his note saying the former teachers would be retained. His letter follows:

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[43] For these gentlemen, see Johnson Brigham's *Iowa—Its History and Its Foremost Citizens,* various references; *History of Dubuque County, Iowa; A Biographical Congressional Dictionary, 1774-1911,* pp. 206, 596. Davis was the first Republican ever elected to Congress in northern Iowa.

[44] Loras to Chambers, Iowa City, Nov. 11, 1844. Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C. For Judge Lockwood, see *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* vol. III, pp. 55, 56.

> "Executive Office, Burlington, Iowa
> 14th November, 1844
>
> Sir:
>
> By the last mail from the North I received under cover from Bishop Loras, catholic Bishop of Iowa, the letters and papers of which I enclose you copies. The first of which in order, is Mr. Sub-Agent MacGregor's nomination of the Revd. Joseph Cretin, a catholic priest, for the place of principal Teacher or "Superintendent" of the Winnebago School at Turkey river, the rest are, the letter of Bishop Loras—Mr. MacGregor's to him, and the recommendations of Mr. Cretin, by Judge Lockwood, Mr. King, Mr. Corkery and Mr. Davis—all of whom are gentlemen of great respectability.
>
> I send you these papers that in case you should deem Mr. MacGregor's reasons for wishing to dismiss the present teachers sufficient, you may at once act upon the nomination.
>
> I am sadly annoyed by applications for employment at the Sub-Agency of Mr. MacGregor, under the impression, which seems to have become general, that all who were employed there before Mr. MacGregor came into office are to be discharged—I hope however that the reinstatement of the discharged teachers will put an end to such applications for a while. I have written to Revd. Mr. Cretin as requested by Bishop Loras and have informed him of the reinstatement of the former teachers and that the whole matter had been referred to you and intimating my opinion that there would be no vacancy.
>
> Very respectfully
> Your Obt. Servt.
> John Chambers."[45]
>
> T. Hartley Crawford Esq. Com'r
> Ind. Affrs.
> War Department.

It will be clearly observed that Governor Chambers paid no attention whatsoever in this letter to Father Cretin's superior qualifications for the post he sought. Of MacGregor he naively attempted to dispose by accusing him of discharging the employees merely because they had been his predecessor's, while turning a deaf ear to the sub-agent's clear-cut charges of neglect and inefficiency against the teachers. On the one hand he invited the Commissioner to act upon Cretin's nomination if he so desired, and on the other hand he blandly implied that this was not necessary, since he, Chambers, had informed Father Cretin that the teachers were reinstated and that there would be no vacancy.

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[45] Chambers to Crawford, Burlington, Iowa, Nov. 14, 1844. Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C.

Meanwhile poor MacGregor up on the Turkey river was forced to swallow his accusations and reinstate the Rev. Mr. Seymour and his assistants.[46]

Attempts were being made to buy the Winnebago lands in Iowa and to remove the tribe. During June of 1845 Governor Henry Dodge of Wisconsin Territory came to Fort Atkinson on the Turkey river and attempted at a big ceremonial gathering to effect a treaty for this purpose. "But the fifteen hundred Winnebago who met Dodge in council at Fort Atkinson seemed to be completely under the influence of traders who from selfish motives opposed their removal," wrote one reliable historian.[47] Father Cretin, however, who was present at the affair gives a somewhat different version and relates how even here the demands of the Indians for a Catholic missionary came to the fore. He states in a letter to France thus:

> Fort Atkinson, June 22, 1845.
>
> My Very Dear Sister:-
>
> As I had announced to you in my last letter, I am for a few months back amongst the Winnaybaygo or Puant savages. These poor Indians appear to be very well disposed; they have addressed to the government petitions upon petitions, in order to obtain Catholic priests from it; but no attention is paid to their entreaties, and in spite of them, it continues to impose upon them Protestant ministers, although they do not listen to them.

After describing the preliminaries to the meeting between the Winnebago and the white officials, Father Cretin continues:

> All the savages were in full Indian dress, adorned with feathers and plumes, and their faces tattooed with endless variety. The commissioner, who was General Dodge, Governor of Wisconsin, addressed them and told them what was his message; he made known to them that a very good price would be given for their properties.

This evidently was said with a touch of irony for Cretin continues:

> The price consisted in an offer to pay about fifty cents to the acre for their excellent land, which is watered by six considerable rivers and which comprises 2,300,000 acres. In taking from them this immense territory, the intention was to transport its possessors to the east of the Missouri.

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[46] Chambers to MacGregor, Burlington, Iowa, Oct. 31, 1844. MacGregor to Chambers, Turkey River Ind. Agency, Nov. 13, 1844. Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C.

[47] Mahan in *Old Fort Crawford and the Frontier,* p. 226.

The savages, having heard this proposition, asked for a day to deliberate on it amongst themselves; then the meeting arose and was adjourned to the next day.

Wakoo, the great orator of the nation, delivered the tribe's sentiments the following day before a great assemblage. He paid a few compliments to General Dodge and the white brethren and then accused the government of deceit, neglect and false promises; the Indians wanted good agents and they wanted Catholic priests. Wakoo said further:

> "And I, a mere child of nature, who have but one tongue, I believed in the sincerity of those promises; but behold, in spite of our protestations, all our affairs have been ministered without even consulting us. They have sent away agents whom we loved to give us others without taking our advice. [Just a few days previously, on June 2, James MacGregor, Jr.'s sub-agency incumbency came to an end, and he was to be succeeded by a newcomer.][48] We had forwarded petitions to which no regard was paid. They have certainly promised us that they would leave us always upon the lands which we occupy, and already they wish to send us to I know not where! My brother, thou art our friend; tell our grandfather [the President] that before taking the road to a new exile, his children have need of making a longer halt; the tree which would be incessantly transplanted, would not delay to perish.
>
> "In order to dispense with being just towards us, we are accused of being the most perverse nation under the heavens. If the reproach were made to us by Indians, I would show that it is exaggerated. But it is the whites who make it to us; and I confine myself to answering that it falls upon themselves. Why impute to us vices which you yourself have encouraged? Why do you come to the very doors of our huts to tempt us with your fire-water, so destructive to our tribe? If crimes be committed amongst us, it is in consequence of drunkenness; and who intoxicate us? Who? Avaricious men, who sell poison to us at the price of our clothes.
>
> "As thou hast invited me to make of thee all the demands which I might think useful to our nation, allow me, before concluding, to make one of the highest importance. Our grandfather had said to us, 'I will teach you how to live well.' Those men have come in effect, but, although they are tolerably good, our children do not listen to them any better than to ourselves; we wish for Catholic priests. They will make themselves be heard better, be assured of it. I take God to witness that what I say expresses the wishes of my nation; I also take to witness the chiefs here present." And all the chiefs raised an approving murmur, without one gainsaying it . . . .
>
> The next day the savages held another meeting. Several other chiefs spoke, and only confirmed what had been said the previous day; but before the opening of the meeting, the great orator having expressed a desire

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[48] *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, vol. 14, p. 564.

that I should come and sit beside the president, I was invited to take the place of the commander of the fort, which astonished not a little a great many Protestants. If God removes the obstacles which are opposed to my designs I hope with His grace to contribute to ameliorate the conditions of these poor people.

I am still alone here, with a savage family, of which the mother, who is a very good Christian, speaks a little French; lodged in a house formed of trunks of trees, laid horizontally one over the other, and covered with bark, I have almost what is necessary. The two greatest inconveniences of the country are rattlesnakes and mosquitoes . . . .

I finish my letter at Prairie du Chien this 9th day of July. I say nothing of the divers dangers I have run and from which I have escaped by the favor of God . . . .

J. Cretin, Missionary Apostolic.[49]

During these earlier months of 1845 which Father Cretin spent on the Turkey river, he endeavored on two occasions to establish a private school for the children of the Catholic Indians, since the recommendations and petitions for his superintendency of the agency school had been ignored. The first attempted location was a mile and a half distant from the agency and the second five and a half miles distant. But Superintendent Seymour feared that all the pupils would abandon the agency school and flock to Father Cretin's establishment, such was the affection and respect entertained for the missioner by the Winnebago. A letter from Governor Chambers to Subagent MacGregor then forbade all establishment of missionary schools near the agency, and apparently implied that Father Cretin himself was to be removed. So the missioner, in his as yet imperfectly mastered English, penned a respectful inquiry to the governor to learn exactly what his status might be:

Turkey River on the 10th of June 1845

To his Excellency the Governor
of the Iowa terrty.
Sir,

Upon the repeated invitations of the indians Winnebagoes, and of the half Breeds, upon a petition Signed by about all the chiefs of that Tribe and after having taken all the steps requested to obtain a Lawful authorization, I thought my duty to not delay any longer to answer their wishes to come and settle myself among them to try to do some good among these people, to teach them the Christian Doctrine and perform the functions of my holy ministry.

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[49] *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith Society,* vol. VIII, p. 405 et seq.

I was on my journey, when I received by the Sub-agent Mr. McGregor Communication of your order forbidding all establishment of missionary school near the Agency. In consequence of that order I gave up the Design I had to collocate myself in a pretty suitable house offered to me gratuitously by Mr. Rice, and distant one mile and an half of the other school.

I took possession of an abandoned and solitary house four miles farther after having paid for it. I could not think that at such a distance any objection to my staying there could be done.

But since Mr. Seymour does find I am not yet far enough and says: *that all his scholars will flock here* (what a Proof!) I renounce entirely to the intention of establishing a school. I cannot go farther. I cannot abandon so many Catholics who are here around; or oblige them to make seven or ten mile to attend to their religious duties. They may continue to force Catholic parents to send their children to Protestant teachers or to keep them in ignorance. And the most part of the scholars belong to catholic parents.

Now, I Beg nothing else of your Excellency, except that has been so easily granted to so many others, the permission of residing on the Neutral Ground to discharge the Duties of my holy ministry towards the members of our Church. I shall be alone except one more to serve me and perhaps two or three Boys for Company.

I am ready to enter into all the bonds and securities requested on that account by the laws of the United States.

I am very far from having any hostil intention. I am convinced I am more able to do something for the peace among the indians and to induce them to submit themselves to necessity than many Dragoons.

I may declare that I have not had the least share in the Petitions which have been done about the removal of the present teachers.

I send your excellency this Petition through the agent whose approbation I have ascertained. I made an application to him on that subject two months ago. probably he did forget to send you my letter.

Please Sir to honor with an answer clear and positive. it is a long while since we Sollicit such a permission—I cannot see the motive of so many refusals.

Believe me Sir, of your Excellency
the Most humble and obedient Servant
Jh. Cretin.

P.S. I did pray the Major Deaburn Comt of the fort to inform me through what chanel I could obtain a lawful authorisation? he told me I had nothing to do but to write to you, that Mr. Adams did obtain his permission the same way few months before.[50]

Governor Chambers's answer implying an accusation against Father Cretin of having interfered with the agency school and containing the sharp warning that "any and every attempt to interfere with the established school in the Indian country will be resisted," follows:

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[50] Cretin to Chambers, Turkey River, June 10, 1845. Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C.

Executive Office, Burlington, Iowa
11th July 1845

Revd Sir

Your letter of the 10th ult. transmitted to me by Mr. MacGregor has been received, and I am gratified to learn from it, that you have abandoned the idea of establishing a school near the Agency of the Winnebagoe Indians. The existing school is under the care and control of the government of the United States, and it must have been long since generally understood, that no interference with it would be permitted. Your wish to establish yourself with the tribe as a Missionary for religious purposes only, is entirely in accordance with the views of the government, and confining yourself to your religious duties your residence among them will be protected and respected by the Agent and by the offices at Fort Atkinson. You say "it is a long while since you solicited such a permission, and you cannot see the motive of so many refusals"—give me leave to say that no *such* permission has ever been asked by, or refused to any Missionary of the Catholic or any other Church since I have been in office—the allegation therefore of "so many refusals" is not well founded, and I now distinctly inform you that no objection has been or will be made to a proper application for the settlement of Missionaries of any denomination among the Indians for religious purposes, or for purposes of education, but any and every attempt to interfere with the established school in the Indian country will be resisted, and Missionary schools will not be permitted so near those under control of the government as to produce a collision. With this understanding your application to remain in the Indian country for religious purposes is granted, and you will please receive with it, my very sincere wish that your ministry may prove useful to the Indians.

No Bonds are necessary.

I am sir
Very respectfully
Your obt svt
(signed)
John Chambers.[51]

Revd. Jos. Cretin.

What Governor Chambers meant by "interference" he, of course, failed to explain. With one breath he states that no objection would be made to missionaries "among the Indians" "for purposes of education" and with the next breath he forbids the missionaries to carry on the education in schools near the agency. The fact that Father Cretin's school five and a half miles from the agency, supported by slender private means and the indefatigable zeal of the missioner alone, could draw away all the pupils from the established school with ample government funds, the name and prestige of the government, and years of experience behind it, might be termed "interference" by some; but it is on the one hand a tremendous tribute to Father Cretin's ability, and to the affectionate respect and admiration he commanded amongst the Indians, as it is on the other hand an obvious indictment of the incapacity and inefficiency of the teachers and directors of the agency school.

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[51] Chambers to Cretin, Burlington, Iowa, July 11, 1845. Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C.

The governor seized on one phrase of the missioner's awkward English to declare emphatically that he had never refused him permission to settle among the Indians; but there were various other refusals that the by this time discouraged priest may have had in mind: the governor's cold refusals to all the petitions sent to him in the missioner's behalf for the directorship of the agency school; the governor's refusal to permit the erection of a mission school even miles away from the agency; and the previous sub-agent's refusal to allow Father Petiot to settle on the agency.[52]

As might be expected, such high-handed actions of the governor caused wide comment and criticism, but only for a time. Said the New York *Freeman's Journal* the following year (1846): "The affair excited general condemnation, and was even taken up in Congress; but of course, was soon forgotten, and not only did the government continue to pay the money of the Winnebagoes to a missionary whom the tribe rejected, but, strange for a government that professes equality of religious rights, and is indignant at Tuscan laws, deprived the Winnebagoes of a priest of their religion."[53]

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[52] John Gilmary Shea refers to this incident and peculiarly enough echoes Father Cretin's assertion: "In 1845 Very Rev. Mr. Cretin made another attempt; but Governor Chambers by his letter of April 22, 1845, directed the agent to prevent the priest from establishing a school, *and refused to permit any Catholic priest to enter the reservation.* This was done in direct contradiction to the wishes of the tribe, who desired Catholic priests and teachers." (*History of the Catholic Church in the U. S.,* vol. IV, p. 245.) We traced this letter in the Indian Office Files, and in it the governor strictly forbade a "Missionary school" in the Neutral Ground, adding that "it has already been decided that a school cannot be established so near that already in existence, as in any way to interfere with it, by attracting the young Indians or otherwise," but did not specifically refuse permission to missionaries to enter the reservation. Chambers to MacGregor, April 22, 1845, Indian Office Files, Washington, D. C.

[53] Quoted in John F. Kempker, *History of the Catholic Church in Iowa,* p. 49.

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However, a change was actually made the following year, 1846. The Rev. Mr. Seymour was supplanted by another director, and needless to say, not by Father Cretin, but of all men, by none other than the Rev. David Lowry, formerly sub-agent and superintendent![54]

III

However, during the same year, 1846, the government purchased the Winnebago lands in Iowa, and two years later the tribe was moved to Minnesota, north of St. Cloud. And as Providence would have it, after another two years, Father Cretin was appointed the first Bishop of St. Paul in Minnesota. Almost immediately he wrote to Senator George W. Jones of Iowa at Washington asking him to secure information from the War Department about the various Indian tribes in the Minnesota Territory. But the thought of the Winnebago, for whom he had developed a profound affection, was uppermost in his mind. Of these Indians he wrote:

> I would be also very thankful to your Honor, if you could inquire from the Department of War, if the Government would consent to entrust the care of a school among the Winnebagoes, to some Teachers of our persuasion, with a suitable salary and some pecuniary means to rescue these poor Indians from their miserable condition.
>
> Mr. Lowry has been obliged lately to give up his mission among them, and after a trial of eighteen years and an immense quantity of money expended he confessed his inability for civilizing this People.
>
> I am confident that great many among them, through the Christian Doctrine, may be induced to cultivate their lands, build houses and adopt the manners of the Whites. In this undertaking we may be helped much by the Half Breeds.
>
> The Government ought to know by what is done among the Monomenies, the Potoatomies and the Chippeways that the Indians have more confidence in the clergymen of our persuasion.
>
> I'll try to provide also the Sioux with good missionaries and to prevent as much as we can these disgraceful wars and horrible slaughters taking place about every year.
>
> We shall never interfere with the affairs of the government's officers or of the traders. We shall endeavor to entertain always good feelings toward them among the Indians.
>
> Please, General, excuse the trouble I take the Liberty to give you. You will understand it is for a Philanthropic purpose.[55]

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[54] *House Executive Documents,* 2nd Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 315; *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* vol. 14, p. 566.

[55] Cretin to Senator Jones, December 23, 1850. Columbia College Library, Dubuque.

Bishop Cretin arranged his plans for the Winnebago and the other tribes patiently and resourcefully. He had learned from bitter experience that it was far better to go to headquarters directly than to rely on even the most trustworthy intermediaries.[56] Toward the end of May of 1852 he was in Washington and had a personal interview with President Millard Fillmore. He had as friends at court General Henry H. Sibley, the delegate from Minnesota Territory, and later Sibley's successor, Henry M. Rice; still closer friends were U. S. Senator Henry Dodge, the former territorial governor of Wisconsin, his son U. S. Senator Augustus Caesar Dodge of Iowa, and U. S. Senator George W. Jones of Iowa, while the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Colonel Lee, was very kindly disposed toward him.[57]

His ultimate success in caring for the Winnebago just a few years before his death is revealed in the following letter, which closes this article with a consoling note after the recital of so many sad reverses:

St. Paul on the 15th of January, 1853.

Hon. Gl. Jones
U. S. S.

Dear and Honorable Sir,

You have been probably very much astonished at not receiving any mark of gratitude from me, for the help and the service you had the kindness to render to me, in Washington, last summer, that we might obtain the direction of the Winnebagoe School.

The President of the U. S. and the Commissioner of the Indian Affairs may have felt the same surprise.

Before returning my thanks for the benevolent dispositions of his excellency, the President Fillimore, I thought proper to wait until his wise intentions be accomplished. And although his orders on that subject were given at the end of last June, nothing has been concluded, except two days ago, by an agreement between Govr Ramsey [*of the Minnesota Territory*] and me. At first the agent refused to give up the school. He continued to appoint the Teachers himself. Govr Ramsey did hesitate for many months to have his orders enforced.

Many false statements were sent to Washington by the Agent and the removed Teachers about the new organization. I am very much pleased and edified to see that not much attention was paid to these complaints, which were naturally to be expected.

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[56] Likewise, Father Gabriel Richard had dealt directly with Presidents Thomas Jefferson and James Madison in regard to his Indian school at Detroit.—"The Spring Hill Indian School Correspondence," by Sister Mary Rosalita, I. H. M., Ph. D., in *Michigan History Magazine,* vol. XIV, Winter Number, 1930.

[57] Cretin Letters and Documents in Columbia College Library, Dubuque.

I have signed the day before yesterday a contract very favorable to the Indians and to the interests of the Government. I took the charge of the school at some conditions very disinterested on our Part. I promised to apply more than the two thirds of the money appropriated by the Gover't for that school to Provisions and clothings for scholars not keeping the common salary of laboring men for the Teachers.

Nothing will be spared for the improvement and benefit of this Tribe.

I have appointed for superintendent of this school an excellent clergyman, the Rev. Mr. de Vivaldi, an accomplished scholar and gentleman who has a great influence over the half Breeds and the Indians. He had a High position in Piedmont even in civil matters, being at the head of a *newspaper*.

I have sent two Sisters of charity who do a great deal of good among these Indians. They are very much respected. I'll send two male teachers as soon as the navigation will be open. Our main object will be to induce the scholars to cultivate a field. And, we are confident to succeed, in spite of the demoralisation and prejudice introduced by the former system.

Dear General, I do believe your honor to use all your Influence to have these Indians removed to the place they long for, near *Itasca*. If once located in that place, being all together, it will be easy for us to do some good among them. The most part of them are already leaving about that place.

Please, Dear Sir, to accept of my warm and sincere congratulation for your New Election to the Senate and my New Year compliments. I hope that the two Mr. Dodges are still members of that eminent Body. Please to present them with my respect and thanks for the help they have afforded me in that question.

Mrs. Jones, I suppose, is with you. I salute her with esteem, respect and affection. God bless all your family.

In the occasion Please to offer my sincere thanks to the President and to Mr. Lea. I was afraid to trouble them with a letter.

I remain your all devoted and thankful and humble servant

✠ Joseph Cretin
Bishop of St. Paul.[58]

Columbia College, Dubuque MATTHIAS M. HOFFMAN

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[58] Cretin to Jones, Columbia College Library, Dubuque.

SENATOR THOMAS HENRY CARTER

The earliest event in the life of Thomas Carter that has been recorded after his baptism is that of his fistic encounter with Johnny Wolf. It is best told as recalled by a participant in the affair, Tommy Carter's little sister Julia.*

"The little school-house," she begins, "was over the hill and seemed very far away as we three children climbed up and then down on the opposite slope into the valley. Of that school I have no memories except one of an event that must have been very tragic to my child mind. For, to this hour, I feel the sting of a very heavy slap on the side of my head administered by one Alice Wolf. Alice was a big, strong girl. She and her little brother attended the school. We always carried our lunch with us to school in a tin bucket. At noon time we congregated in the schoolroom—boys and girls—the boys usually hurrying to be on the playground as quickly as possible. One day Johnny Wolf and Tommy Carter began either arguing or gave mutual offense, and the outcome was a fistic encounter. T. H. C. was plump and strong and full of pluck, while Johnny Wolf tried his best to uphold the honor of his name . . . . Johnny received on that occasion, a sound and lasting what they call 'lickin'. His sister Alice heard of the fight, came directly towards me as I sat finishing my lunch, tin bucket on my knee. With her big hand and strong arm she gave the tin one broadside. The wreck went towards the side wall. Her second attack was my ear and her big flat slap sent me in a heap following the lunch receptacle. I naturally screamed . . . . and rushed for the out-of-doors, to glimpse both my brothers on the hill-top going home as fast as possible, as they feared the chastisement of the teacher. I followed with all the speed I could master, and we told our tales to our parents. They did not send us back to school that day. Both fathers met later and talked the matter over, and all ended amicably as far as I know."

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* I. The chief sources of the information contained in this paper are:
  A. A series of communications between the author and Mrs. Julia Carter Lang of Missoula, Montana, a sister of Thomas Carter. Unfortunately Mrs. Lang died after an operation October 11, 1929.
  B. A speech delivered by the Honorable Lee Mantle, a great friend of the Senator's, a month after the latter's death, at a service held in the Carter Memorial Committee.

II. Other sources are: Palladino, L. B., S. J., *Indian and White in the Northwest,* 2nd ed., 1922; *Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the United States; National Cyclopedia of American Biography;* Miller, *History of Montana,* 1894; Sanders, *History of Montana,* 1913; *Progressive Men of Montana,* 1900; Bancroft, H. H., *History of Montana.*

III. *Reminiscences of Chauncey M. Depew* and Maurice Francis Egan's *Recollections of a Happy Life* give good pictures of the times and foibles of Senator Carter's time. (The family of Maurice F. Egan and that of Senator Carter were good friends.)

IV. *Congressional Record* and various newspaper accounts.

Edward Carter and his wife, née Margaret Byrnes, were born in County Roscommon, Ireland. About the year 1849 or 1850 (i. e. shortly after the famine of 1846-47 and the rebellion of 1848) they emigrated, settling in West Virginia, at Wheeling, where they were married. Edward Carter, before he met Margaret Byrnes had been a strict member of the Anglican Church; but through her influence he was converted to Catholicism, as were two of his sisters. After their marriage the Carters did not remain long in West Virginia, for in 1852 we find them settled in a little village in Scioto County, Ohio. The village, known as Junior Furnace, consisted of an iron-ore furnace, owned by William Means and David Seton, and a number of small one-story houses, occupied exclusively by the workmen. In one of these little "employees' cottages" their first son was born in 1852, and on October 30, 1854, in the same house, was born a second son. The latter was baptized, under the name of Thomas Henry, in the nearest church, a tiny one situated in the midst of a wood and consequently known as "The Pine Grove Church." Not so long after, the Carters moved to a small farm about three miles distant. It was from this farm that the three children (Julia was born two years after Thomas) climbed over the hill to the school in the valley.

Thomas has been described as a strong, healthy-looking child with blue eyes, light hair, and a clear, almost transparent complexion. His mother, in later years, told of the following incident. Mr. William Means was the owner of as many ore furnaces as the ordinary farmer had acres of land. To the people of the village, in whose eyes driving a team was a sign of wealth, he was fabulously rich. It was considered an honor to be recognized and saluted by him as he drove his splendid carriage along the roads or through the village. Passing the Carter home one fine day he stopped at the gate to gaze at the chubby, rosy, little boy who stood inside peeping through the bars. Mrs. Carter, wondering what occasion Mr. Means could possibly have for stopping at their house, hurried out. After the usual salutations Mr. Means asked: "Mrs. Carter, would you consider parting with this child? We have none of our own, and I think he is an adorable little fellow. If you will consent to our adopting him, he shall have the best the world can give in education and preparation for life." The answer came quickly: "There is not enough gold in the universe to even suggest the temptation to part with our little son." And so Tommy remained Tommy Carter and did not become Thomas Means.

By the end of the Civil War the Carters, besides supporting their five children, had succeeded in saving up the tidy sum of three thousand dollars. They decided to take the advice of Horace Greeley, and went West, buying a house in Pana, a little town in Central Illinois. Later forty acres of land just on the outskirts of the town were procured and Mr. Carter, aided by Richard and Thomas, the two eldest boys, and by Jack and Joe, a team of mules, began farming. They worked on the land every day of the spring and summer, driving to it of a morning from the home in town, where the team was kept, taking a cold lunch, and returning at dusk. Only when winter rendered further work impossible could the two boys (they were about thirteen and eleven years of age) attend school for a few months—till time for Spring plowing.[1]

Yet the intellectual life of Thomas was not so neglected as might be imagined under such circumstances. His father was a well-educated man, having a passion for reading, and possessed of a retentive memory. He seems to have been rather ill-suited to the laborious task of farming; it was the mother, a woman with practical views of life, an abiding realization of family responsibilities, industrious and thrifty, who was the real director of family affairs. The father, inclined to be a dreamer and an idealist, gladly let her do the managing; he considered it his duty to see that his childrens' minds were properly trained. And he seems to have been very successful in awakening their ambition along the lines of education and the cultivation of their mental gifts. All learned to make the best use of leisure moments as an aid to the attaining of their ambition, some profession or other. Richard, the eldest, hoped to be a doctor; Thomas favored the legal profession. Both were eventually to attain to their ambition.

After several years of farming the forty acres, Mr. Carter rented a larger farm about three miles from Pana. Then he bought a quarter section, a beautifully located place, for which he borrowed the purchase money, secured by a mortgage on the land. It was too big a venture. The added acreage made necessary a great amount of work on the part of the father and his three sons (Edward, the youngest, was about eleven), work that lasted sometimes far into the night. Moreover, farming implements and teams had to be bought; and the extra help required to assist in putting in the crops added enormously to expenses. Then the house was an unfinished frame, not even plastered, was uninviting, desolate, bare; indeed only "a place to obtain food and to sleep when exhausted from endless toil."

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[1] Thomas's schooling, all in all, amounted to these few months each winter from 1869 to 1874.

Yet even in such circumstances books were treasured and read eagerly when opportunity offered. An incident, which took place but a month and a half after the Carters had settled in the new place, is a good illustration. About two in the afternoon a sky such as Julia, who tells the story, says she had never seen before, shrouded the earth in darkness. The men in the fields took their teams to the big barn, and then came into the house to await the passing of the storm. Everybody was terrified, especially Julia, who thought it was the day of doom. She ran upstairs, and lo!—there was Thomas Henry, calm and unperturbed, buried in a book!

That storm, however, was a turning point in the family's history. Of a sudden a blaze was seen from the barn roof. Lightning had struck, killing every mule and horse and burning to cinders barn, stock, machinery, hay, everything—and not one penny of insurance! The mortgagee became owner of the land by foreclosure, and the family moved back to the old home, the one first bought on their arrival from Ohio. "Then came the reality of trying to be at least self-supporting."

Julia, the oldest girl, went to the county seat, Taylorville, passed the examination and obtained a permit to teach. Mr. Carter (who certainly had a tragic story of his own to tell his prospects) tried his hand at the insurance business, while Thomas found work at the building of the railroad shops then being erected by the Indianapolis and St. Louis Railroad, later a part of the Big Four. His "occupation" was that of a teamster, driving a dump-board wagon while they excavated the foundations. The income of these three sufficed for the family budget and Richard was allowed to begin his study of medicine in the office of Dodge and Deming, two old, established physicians of the town. Thomas, of course, had not given up his hopes of the legal profession, and spent his evenings at home studying. His work for the railroad was by its very nature temporary, and when September came both he and Richard passed examinations for County Certificates to teach and were fortunate enough to secure schools for the term. These schools were several miles from Pana and they had to walk both ways, which was not always so pleasant during the winter; and, as back in Ohio, they carried their lunch in the little tin bucket.

In the early spring, just after the closing of the schools, a representative of the publishing house of R. T. Root of Burlington, Iowa, visited Pana. In connection with other business, he was also in search of young men with the address, intelligence, and personality to become successful book agents. Thomas Carter heard of this Mr. Segner and went to see him. The result was an engagement to travel through several states canvassing for a book called *The Footprints of Time and a Complete Analysis of Our American System of Government,* written by Charles Bancroft Walker. (Incidentally it might be mentioned that the author later became a confidential friend of Mr. Carter's, and it was at the advice of the author that the future Senator moved to Montana in 1882.) Traveling and canvassing in those days was not easy work. It meant tramping country roads and lanes in hail, rain, sleet, and snow, as well as in fair weather—always on foot except in case of a "lift," which came rarely. And the farms were far apart. Laborious as the work was, Mr. Carter, when a Senator, often said that it was chiefly as a result of his experience as a book-agent that he had obtained his very remarkable knowledge of men. Each prospective customer was another chapter of the book whence he learned human character. The result of three years of this schooling, however, was an attack of inflammatory rheumatism that nearly cost him his life. While yet dangerously ill he was advised to take treatment at Hot Springs, Arkansas. "This apparently restored his health," his sister writes, "yet it has always been my opinion that his heart was never after free from the weakening effects of that long illness—it probably shortened his life."

After recovery, Mr. Root asked him to take charge of the Sales Department of the House. This meant occasional trips to sections of the various states, disposing of certain territories with accompanying rights to sell the book in those fields. One such trip was taken to assist his own father in organizing preparatory to selling the book in the state of Kentucky, the elder Mr. Carter having previously purchased the rights from Mr. Root.

Thomas Carter was thus engaged near Omaha, Nebraska, in March, 1879, when he received word that his mother was very ill with pneumonia. And before he could get to Pana she had passed away, March 15, 1879. Thomas and his father arrived only in time for the funeral held at the little Pana church.[2]

We had best let Julia tell us of how her big brother came to the rescue in the trying time that followed her mother's death. "At this special time, of all periods in our life," she writes, "the very human, gentle, and sympathetic nature of Thomas manifested itself most noticeably. Richard was still struggling at the medical college;[3] father was not very successful South; I was earning only a small sum teaching in the school at Pana; a little brother and sister were still in school, helpless, and, as it appeared, destined to be homeless. My words cannot describe the nobility . . . . with which Thomas came to our rescue, bringing us hope in our desolation, encouraging us for the future; broken-hearted as we were, lonely, and despairing, his generous heart seemed to enclose us in his sympathy and loving kindness." But Thomas Carter was not merely a consoler, he was also a man of action, as is shown by Julia's next sentence: "Immediately everything was disposed of, and within a week we were with him in the city that was to be our home until our final move to Helena, in 1883."

That city was Burlington, Iowa. A small house was rented and fitted out as economically as was consonant with a real home. Chiefly through associations formed at the old St. Paul's parish church, the two girls acquired many new friends and "ere long life resumed a more rosy hue." For some time practically the only source of income was what Thomas earned in the publishing company. At twenty-five, then, he was supporting two sisters and a young brother and helping an older brother through his medical course. (Mr. Carter did no more than support himself by selling books in Kentucky.) And yet, after all expenses were paid, some money was saved every month, so that within a few years they were in a position to purchase a lot and build their own home on Prospect Hill.

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[2] Father Storpe was then pastor; but Father John W. Crowe of Mattoon, Ill., preached the funeral sermon. Mrs. Carter's grave is on the slope of old West Mound Cemetery at Pana. Mr. Carter's remains lie beside those of his wife. He died at St. Joseph's Hospital, Colorado Springs, twenty-four years later, in 1902.

[3] Rush Medical College, Chicago.

During this period Thomas was more than a brother to his younger sisters. Richard was about to graduate and start his professional work, and Edward was old enough to take care of himself. So, after a time, Thomas's chief care was for his sisters. To them he was their all, and his kindness was never forgotten. Fifty years later the elder, Julia, could write of that period of her life as one of exceptional peace and happiness. "We were living in the most beautiful and helpful atmosphere," she writes. "Kindly consideration for each other never ceased . . . . I still hear the tone of his voice as he returned home at night with, 'Girls, where are you?' and then an affectionate kiss. Nor did he ever leave the house in the morning without the same 'Goodbye' . . . . His thought of us seemed to be the one uppermost. He anticipated our needs, suggesting, for instance, 'it's time, girls, that you had new dresses. I insist that you purchase them today.' "

This love for his sisters shines forth clearly at the death of the younger of them. Margaret had a very mild and sweet disposition, was deeply spiritual, sensitive, loving—and adored by her big brother, Tom, as she adored him. After they had moved to Montana she married Thomas Cruse, and a year later, December 31, 1888, passed away, twelve days after the birth of her child. It was twelve minutes after ten at night, and for a whole year the hands of Thomas's watch remained exactly at the moment of her death.[4] Nor would he ever after sing a song which had formerly been a favorite in the Carter family, "He Doth All Things Well."[5] To the last hour of his life, his sister says, he would shed tears if that song were even mentioned.

As might be expected from children both of whose parents had been born and raised in Ireland, the Carters had a great love of music. In varying degrees each had some talent. Both Julia and Margaret belonged to the old St. Paul's choir in

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[4] Among those present in the room were the Rt. Rev. Bishop Brondel, Thomas Cruse, Thomas Carter with his wife and mother-in-law, Julia Carter and her husband, Mr. T. S. Lang, and Dr. Wm. Treacy.

[5] The words of the song:

I remember well my sorrow
  As I knelt beside her bed
And my deep and heartfelt anguish
  When they told me she was dead.
And oh! that cup of bitterness
  Let not my heart repel.
God gave. He took. He will restore.
  He doth all things well.

That star went down in beauty,
  Yet it shineth sweetly now
In that bright and dazzling coronet
  That decks the Saviour's brow.
She bowed to the Destroyer,
  Whose shafts none may repel.
We know, for God hath told us,
  He doth all things well.

Burlington, and all found singing more enjoyable than other more expensive forms of recreation. Many an evening or Sunday afternoon was spent with Tom singing to Margaret's accompaniment. The frequency with which these two sang together the song, "He Doth All Things Well," probably accounts for Thomas's refusal, after Margaret's death, ever to sing it again.

During these years at Burlington, although it might seem that his work at the publishing house had become permanent, Thomas never abandoned his legal ambitions. He continued his studies, whether at home or on the road. Indeed it was while on a business trip in Nebraska that he had passed the bar examinations in that state.[6] Thus the future senator gained his knowledge of law without help or guidance of any kind; even more, he gained it in spite of really appalling difficulties. These difficulties were, however, totally extrinsic, for Thomas Carter was very gifted mentally. His longing for knowledge, like that of his father's, amounted almost to a passion. Concentration of mind was his in a degree seldom attained by men, and any subject, once tackled, was completely mastered before another was taken up. Perhaps the very denial of educational opportunities, for which he longed so ardently, helped to create this stubborn will and unswerving determination to succeed in spite of "unkind fate."[7]

In May, 1882, Thomas Carter left Iowa for Montana. He was ready to begin the practice of law, and chose the West in preference to the more crowded cities of the East and Middle West. In so doing he was also following the advice of friends, among them the author of "Footprints of Time," Mr. Walker. He went alone, leaving his brother and two sisters in Burlington. It seems he continued for some time after his arrival in Montana to sell books to support himself,[8] but only until he could get a start at his law practice. He began by forming a partnership with John B. Clayton, a partnership that was to last a great many years. He was, for a while, counsel for the Wells Fargo

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[6] In 1879 according to one report; in 1881 according to Mrs. Lang.

[7] Senator Carter, unlike some other "self-made" men, fully appreciated the value of education. He often expressed regret that he had been unable to go to school in his youth. He gave his two sons every educational advantage.

[8] Mr. David Hilger, the Librarian of the Montana Historical Society, stated this very expressly in a letter to the author of this paper.

Express Company. His first public office was that of public administrator for the County of Lewis and Clark, in which county, Helena, the State Capital, is situated. Thus gradually he made progress in his profession and became fairly well known locally. A year after his own arrival in Helena he felt sufficiently settled and satisfied to send for his two sisters and his brother. They came in June, 1883.

On January 27, 1886, Thomas Henry Carter was married to Miss Ellen Lilian Galen at the Cathedral in St. Paul, Minnesota, by Father Shanley, afterwards Bishop of Fargo, N. D. The bride came from a family well known in Montana, her father being very prominent in the state's early history.[9]

When, in 1888, Mr. Carter was made a nominee for the office of delegate to Congress from the Territory of Montana, he began a public career that was to continue almost unbroken until his death in 1911. To narrate the multifarious accomplishments of this long and very active period of his life would require a book. We shall be content to trace briefly this phenomenal span of almost a quarter of a century during which his reputation "spread beyond the narrow boundaries of his own state" until he became "a recognized figure of national importance; the welcome associate of the greatest intellects in the nation; the peer of the ablest statesmen in the land; the trusted friend and counsellor of presidents."[10]

Although Montana had, for many years previously, been apparently irremediably Democratic, Thomas Carter, in great part due to his wonderful personality, was selected by a large majority. For it was during this campaign which marked his entrance into major politics, that he first had a real opportunity to demonstrate his wonderful physical endurance, his oratorical ability, his influence over the minds of all with whom he came in contact. These characteristics mark, in an increasing degree, all his subsequent campaigns.

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[9] Miss Ellen L. Galen, daughter of Hugh F. and Matilda Gillogly Galen, was born at the Dalles, Oregon. Her father was one of the prominent pioneers of the state of Montana, going there to make his home in 1866. The Galens are mentioned in Fr. Palladino's book, *Indian and White in the Northwest*. The present Judge Albert J. Galen of the Supreme Court of Montana is a brother-in-law of Senator Carter. Mrs. Ellen Galen Carter is yet living in Washington, D. C., but is reported to be very ill (May, 1929).

[10] The Hon. Lee Mantle, from whose address, given in memory of Senator Carter, a month after his death, the above quotation is taken, was also the one who placed him in nomination as the Republican candidate for Delegate. Mr. Mantle later became United States Senator as a colleague of his friend.

Mr. Carter took his seat in the House, March 4, 1889; he ceased to be a Delegate, October 8, 1889. For, during the term of his predecessor, Mr. Toole, an act had been passed enabling Montana to enter the Union. So, on November 8, 1889, Montana became the forty-first state, and Thomas Carter became its first Representative in the House, his term expiring on March 4, 1891. In this fifty-first Congress Representative Carter was Chairman of the Committee on Mines and Mining. Indeed, his natural ability, his knowledge of public questions, and readiness to debate, combined with his personal popularity, enabled him to gain almost immediately an influence rarely attained except after years of service. In 1890 he was appointed secretary of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, and in 1891 President Harrison appointed him Commissioner of the General Land Office. "His appointment to this important position was hailed with delight by the people of the west who had suffered much from the unjust restrictions and vexatious rules, due to ignorance of western conditions, which then prevailed in that department of the government. Under his intelligent and vigorous administration, its policies were immediately liberalized, its burdensome rules suspended, its business facilitated and placed upon a reasonable basis."[11]

It was during this term as Representative that Mr. Carter proved himself a friend of the Catholic Missions in Montana. The Government had long been unfairly discriminating against Catholic schools for Indians in the matter of subsidies. Joseph K. Toole, during his term as Delegate, had framed a measure to eliminate this unfairness, while on assuming Mr. Toole's place, Mr. Carter adopted the former's measure, "and not only brought it before the House, but ably defended it against the attacks of the A. P. A.,[12] and pressed it to a successful issue."[13] This measure especially benefited St. Ignatius Mission.

Father Cataldo, S. J., Superior of the Missions, appealed in 1885 to the Government for authorization to erect a mission school on the respective reservations belonging to the Blackfeet, Fort Peck, and Crow Agencies. Moreover, when the accommodations were ready, the Government was asked for an allowance for one hundred Indian children at the Holy Family School. "A bill to that effect was introduced by the Hon. T. H. Carter, Montana's Delegate to Congress, and passed the House, and also the Senate, although, because of the opposition of the Indian Office, the Senate Committee had reported it adversely."[14]

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[11] From the speech of the Hon. Lee Mantle.

[12] "The A. P. A. Society published a circular violently assailing me for introducing and pressing the measure . . . . and it was my privilege to defend the assault at the time . . . . " (From a letter of Sen. Carter's to Fr. Palladino cited in *Indian and White in the Northwest,* p. 499).

[13] Palladino, *op. cit.,* 159-60.

Even before Mr. Carter became influential in politics, however, he was prominent in the Catholic activities of the state. One of the first acquaintances he made on arriving in Montana was that of Father Palladino, S. J., one of the old missionaries from Italy, and in 1882 pastor at Helena. "A young man, an entire stranger, far from home, and deeply sensitive to either a smile of welcome or a cheerless greeting," Thomas Carter made an early call at the rectory. "He was won and made a life-long friend by the words of encouragement given by Father Palladino, who advised his young friend to remain at Helena, saying that it was a new and growing town and Montana a wealthy state. He assured him that he would make a success of his practice of law there." This bit of timely encouragement was never forgotten by the grateful young man.[15]

When in 1884 Helena was created a See by Leo XIII and the Rt. Rev. John B. Brondel was chosen as its first bishop, the city, especially the Catholic portion of it, took steps "towards a becoming expression of their grateful feelings and filial devotion for their chief pastor." Accordingly, on the occasion of the first Diocesan Synod, the Hon. T. H. Carter, on behalf of the whole Catholic community, presented to the Rt. Rev. Bishop an address and a testimonial.[16] The address, delivered "on the front steps of the episcopal residence . . . . elicited the warmest approval from both the clergy and the laity . . . . "[17] Several years later, in 1891, when Bishop Brondel had some difficulty with the Butte congregation over the expenses incurred in building St. Patrick's School in that city, he chose Thomas Carter as a mediator. "There was good reason to hope that Mr. Carter's suggestions, while practical and conclusive to the end in view, would also be received even more readily than if coming directly from the Ordinary himself, as just at this time some few of the Butte congregation did not appear to be so well disposed towards their chief pastor as they ought to have been. Mr. Carter, however, was then in politics, and opponents looked upon his going to Butte on the occasion as a move to boost political aspirations, which was enough to render his mission pretty much of a failure."[18]

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[14] Palladino, *op. cit.,* 228 and 274; Cong. Directory, July 25, 1890.

[15] Fr. Palladino, though then retired from active missionary work, survived his young friend by sixteen years. He lived in Montana all his subsequent life, passing away in 1927 at the ripe old age of 93 years. In 1893 he published a book, *Indian and White in the Northwest,* and in 1922 issued a revised and enlarged edition.

[16] Interesting are the names of those at the synod: Bishop Brondel; Frs. J. Menetrey, Jos. Cataldo, Jos. Guidi, F. Eberschweiler, Jos. Damiani, C. Imoda, P. Barcelo, L. B. Palladino, and Jerome D'Aste, all of the Society of Jesus; Frs. E. W. J. Lindesmith, J. J. Dols, R. DeRyckere, and L. Trembley of the secular clergy.

[17] Palladino, *op. cit.,* 431-32.

As a Catholic, Mr. Carter was very faithful to his religious duties. In the small church at Pana he and Richard had been taught to serve Mass by Father Julian Turnell, and, while in later life, especially when travelling, there were times when religious duties were unavoidably foregone, yet the old faith burned brightly. He never forgot the prayers and devotional exercises taught him and his brothers and sisters by their mother. "God's Will be done," seems to have been a motto and a guiding principle of his life. It betrays itself in his actions and writings and conversations. Wherever he was, he was on good terms with the clergy, whether with the old Jesuit missionaries out in Montana or with the faculty of Georgetown University in Washington.

On July 16, 1891, the Hon. T. H. Carter was selected Chairman of the National Republican Committee to conduct the presidential campaign of 1892. Thus, "less than four years after his first appearance on the stage of local politics," he was chosen to fill "the highest position attainable in the management of national party politics." This was a most remarkable tribute to his abilities as an organizer and of the confidence reposed in him by the great party leaders. "I doubt," continues the Hon. Lee Mantle, "if in the annals of political history there is another instance of such a rapid rise from comparative obscurity to political and national prominence." In the election, Harrison, running for reelection, was defeated by Cleveland. After the campaign Thomas Carter, who had resigned his office of Commissioner of the General Land Office to become Chairman of the

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[18] Palladino, *op. cit.,* 354-55.

Campaign Committee, resumed the practice of law at Helena, in which he was very successful.

In the year 1895 he was again sent to Washington, this time as a senator. As he already possessed a comprehensive knowledge of public affairs and was well known as a national figure, he became immediately a recognized factor of importance in that body. He was appointed a member of the Senate Committees on appropriations, on public lands and territories, on military affairs, on postoffice matters. He was chairman of the Committee on Census. But primarily he was a prominent speaker on any matter that came before the Senate. It came to be generally acknowledged that "for vitality of mind and body, for energy and cleverness, for elegance of diction in speaking, and for humorous story-telling, 'Tom' Carter had few peers." He always won attention when he spoke, and he was always a welcome speaker, whether in the Senate chamber or on special occasions elsewhere.

It was during this term of office that the Senator from Montana became outstanding as an advocate of land reclamation in the West. "To Senator Carter, next to Theodore Roosevelt, must be given the place of honor in securing (the) great constructive legislation which is bringing such vast benefits to our own state [Montana] and to the West in general," says Mr. Mantle. "He was one of the pioneers, the very ablest champion and advocate of the movement that led to these mighty undertakings which have since transformed into smiling fields and fruitful orchards . . . . millions of acres of barren soil . . . . "

The same familiar friend of the Senator maintains that it was primarily in the interest of western land reclamation that his colleague made his famous filibuster at the close of the last session of this term. A sixty million dollar river and harbor bill was before the Senate. Although the bill, which greatly favored the eastern section of the country, was unpopular, especially among those interested in the West, the Senate seemed likely to pass it. Senator Carter gained the floor and began a speech which lasted over ten hours, until the session came to a close. "This . . . . most remarkable effort . . . . attracted the attention of the whole country . . . . Notwithstanding its great length and the fact that it was delivered without rest or intermission, it was full of interest, replete with facts, figures, and illustrations, and interspersed throughout with caustic satire and scathing ridicule. It succeeded in its purpose of killing the bill . . . . and in compelling future recognition of the just demands of the West for government aid in the reclamation of the vast areas of arid lands." It was Mr. Mantle's belief that "from the moment of [this speech's] delivery the ultimate success of the reclamation movement was assured.[19] Appropriations followed and soon thereafter the initial steps were taken in the construction of those stupendous irrigation projects which are today the wonder and admiration of the scientific world."[20]

It was said at the time that Senator Carter killed this bill at the direct request of President McKinley, who realized that he would have to veto it should it pass, and who disliked the possibility of such a contingency. The veto would have been demanded not only because of the unpopularity of the bill in certain quarters, but also because the bill was too extravagant for the condition of the treasury at the time.

In the 1901 election the Legislature went Democratic, and Senator Carter, who had run for reelection, was defeated. Out of public life for four years, he set himself again to his profession and once more was eminently successful in it. However, he was not completely out of the public's eye even during these few years. In 1901 President McKinley, in appreciation, so the rumor had it, of Mr. Carter's famous speech, appointed him to membership on the Louisiana Exposition Committee, and subsequently he was elected its president. The office lasted until the end of the Exposition at St. Louis in 1904.[21] The next year, 1905, he was a second time elected to the Senate. Outstanding during this term of office was his appointment as a member of the Joint High Committee on Boundary Waters between the United States and Canada, a post of international importance, which he was still holding at the time of his death.

Towards the close of his term, he formulated and introduced a bill for the creation of a system of postal savings banks. "He had long been impressed with the . . . . need of this legislation and had devoted a vast amount of time and labor and research to a thorough study of the subject and to its operation in other lands. The bill met with powerful and stubborn opposition from the very outset and every inch of its progress was vigorously contested." The opposition, however, could not "withstand the force, eloquence, and persistence with which he urged it, and none could successfully controvert the facts, figures and logic with which he so ably defended it. And finally the victory was won and he enjoyed the intense gratification of seeing this product of his creative genius, into which he had thrown his whole heart, power and influence, become a law of the land."[22]

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[19] March 3, 1901.

[20] A Reclamation Act was passed June 17, 1901.

[21] During his stay in St. Louis in connection with the Exposition, Senator Carter delivered a very fine speech at the dedication of one of the schools of St. Louis University.

Those who knew Senator Carter during this term of office never dreamed it was to be his last. Nor, in fact, did the Senator himself, although he seems to have had some premonitions. During the last summer of his life, he was obliged to remain in Washington until July, as the Senate was in session. After a rather hurried trip to the Pacific Coast and Montana, he was back in Washington in early August on his way to join his family at Isleboro, Maine. His last evening in New York, en route, was spent with his younger brother, E. J. Carter, and John D. Ryan. His brother accompanied him to the station, and as the night was very sultry, they walked along the train platform chatting about this and that. But health was the chief topic; they spoke of their occasional attacks of real and imaginary ills. Among other things the Senator said that his physician had told him he must stop smoking—he said, too, that his heart was behaving ill of late, palpitating strongly at times. "Well, Jack," the Senator concluded the conversation, "what does it matter at this stage of the game?" A month later Senator Carter was dead.

The cause of this early death has been variously conjectured. The simplest explanation seems to be that of a newspaper writer of the time: "the former senator's inability to quit working hastened his end." In October of the previous year he had gone to Missoula, Montana, to attend the State Convention, at which, after a very fine speech, he was nominated to succeed himself in the Senate. The campaign that followed was the most strenuous of all his political life. He failed to be reelected by a very small majority. As a result of the campaign, he was in a rather run-down condition physically. Moreover, the defeat, proving, as he believed, the disloyalty of trusted friends, had a depressing and telling effect on his mind as well. His plans, if he had been elected, were, he confided to his sister, to retire after the completion of that term, when his sons would be through college and law school, and to resume the practice of law with them. But, following this failure, came the intensely enervating summer weather at Washington in 1911, and the once vigorous Senator Carter changed rapidly for the worse. "During those twelve months, strength and every vestige of vitality seemed to be leaving him. His step became slow and measured, almost feeble. To add another painful realization to declining health, there was the knowledge of failing sight. His eyes, specialists had decided, should soon be operated on for cataracts." To his physicians it was plain that the Senator was nearing the end; he had burnt out his life in too strenuous labor from the time of his boyhood.

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[22] Mr. Mantle believed this to be the "crowning act of Senator Carter's brilliant legislative career."

Political circles, however, were discussing, not the possibility of Senator Carter's death, but the probability of his being chosen a member of President Taft's Cabinet. It was well known that he was a main reliance of the President, was frequently in conference with him, and had helped to write the presidential messages regarding the tariff bills. Others advanced the opinion that he would be chosen Chairman of the 1912 Republican National Committee. Or again he was a possible candidate against Dixon in 1913. And so the rumors floated about, especially that of the Cabinet membership, until, quite suddenly, it was announced that Senator Carter was seriously ill.

During his stay in Maine, August, 1911, the Senator had been unwell. He returned to Washington with his family on September 8. The next day he went out, saw his physician, visited his office (he was at the time Chairman of the International Boundary Committee), and made arrangements to meet a friend the following day. But the next morning he was unable to arise from his bed. Physicians were summoned, a specialist in heart diseases coming from John Hopkins after a few days. A week later, about two o'clock on Sunday morning, September 17, Senator Carter, with a single sigh, passed away very peacefully. It was "at home,[23] in his own room, and in his own bed," as he kept repeating during the week's illness, that this great lover of his home on earth went to a better home.

The funeral took place at St. Paul's Church in Washington with the Apostolic Delegate, Diomede Falconio, giving the final absolution. The honorary pallbearers were: Chief Justice White and Associate Justice McKenna; James A. Towney and Frank S. Streetor, members of the Joint High Commission; Senators Brondgee, Penrose, Crane, and former-Senator William Chandler; Hannis Taylor of Washington and Attorney General A. G. Galen of Montana. In the sanctuary, besides the Senator's many friends among the clergy of Washington, was the faculty of Georgetown University. The final resting place of the Senator's remains is on the slope of beautiful Mt. Olivet Cemetery near Washington.

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[23] 1528 16th St., Washington, D. C.

Senator Carter, as viewed by the men with whom he associated in political life, "was one of the most remarkable personalities in the public life of the United States." He was picturesque in character and mode of acting; he was not less so in appearance.[24] All who knew him recognized in him a man of exceptional intellectual gifts. He was a man of action, a strong personality. Such men, especially when occupying conspicuous positions and carrying the responsibilities of management and leadership, are bound to arouse enmities; and Senator Carter did arouse bitter enemies. Sometimes this was due to prejudice and ill will on their part, at other times it was the result of the Senator's own faults and mistakes. "Senator Carter was a politician in the highest and best sense of the term. He sought and enjoyed political power and office because they gave him a broad opportunity for the gratification of his natural talents and bent of mind, and for the exercise of his exceptional qualifications for public life." He was not a compromiser, but "a strong, vigorous partisan, advocating and defending his political belief with a force and eloquence rarely surpassed." It is true that "he was politically ambitious, but his ambition was tempered with a deep love of country . . . . and an earnest desire for the welfare of its people." Even his enemies acknowledged his sincerity and earnestness, denying only that what he considered the best way was actually the best. He was broadminded enough not to carry political differences into personal relations, and, "no matter how bitterly partisan warfare might be raging, he could meet his antagonists in friendly social and personal intercourse." "In fact," writes the Hon. Lee Mantle, "it was well nigh impossible for coolness to exist when subjected to the genial warmth of his personal presence." Although Senator Carter did not bring partisan strife into personal relations, yet he did use his personal affability to gain political ends. More than once he employed the same friendly manner of intimate conversation to gain over a hostile audience.[25] With all his fiery vehemence when in action, he was one of the most approachable men in public life. He was always self-composed, at ease, and never without something to say if the occasion demanded it. He was ever a welcome guest, "either in the miner's cabin, the meal on a tin plate, or at a White House state dinner and gold service." Such was Senator Carter to his political colleagues and supporters. Back in the state which gave him the opportunity to display his character to the whole nation, his name became, so to speak, "a household word"; back in Montana "there is not a village, or hamlet, that has ever forgotten his genial presence, his splendid speeches, his intensely human and kindly nature, with always a smile and a word of good cheer for the lowly and poor, ready and willing, on all occasions, to be of any assistance by word or by kindly generous act."

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[24] Thus he wore a beard of the billy-goat variety, which led to his being selected as "champion of whiskers in a debate at the National Press Club (in 1910), when with former speaker Cannon, he defended the cause of whiskers against Rep. Longworth and Sen. Taylor, who allowed that a bald head was a better asset in the world's battles than whiskers." But besides having whiskers, Senator Carter was bald, too.

This might possibly have been show, done to further political ambitions. We know, however, that such was the real character of Thomas Carter, for we can look at him through the eyes of one who knew him very intimately, through the eyes of his sister. She briefly sums up her brother's public life with a quotation from Tennyson's "Ode to the Duke of Wellington":

Great in Council, and great in war;
Foremost captain of his time.
Rich in saving, common sense,
And, as the greatest only are,
In his simplicity, sublime.

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[25] Thus when Helena and Anaconda were in the race for the Capital of Montana, Mr. Carter made a tour, speaking in favor of Helena. Travelling along the Bitter Root Valley he came to Hamilton, a veritable stronghold of the opposition. Those were the days of impressive speech, and the report was broadcast that whoever attempted to speak in Hamilton in the interest of Helena would pay with his life. The meeting was called; the gathering did not apparently augur success. They were willing, however, to wait a few minutes before starting the fireworks. But he who hesitates is lost, for in less than those few minutes the speaker had the crowd in peals of laughter. "He was telling apt stories and quoting Bobby Burns. And apparently all their murderous intentions had given way to admiration, for the crowd's countenance spoke plainly that 'we like that fellow.' "

But she prefers to leave his public life to enter the inner sanctum, "He Himself," as she says. She recalls "just a loving, kind, sympathetic brother, a man of wisdom, of staunch character, a haven of refuge and peace and consolation amid all life's storms. Always serene and self-possessed, dependable and loyal, 'his life was gentle and the elements so mixed in him that all the world might say, "This was a man." ' " This tribute of a sister, who was more or less a confidante, shows best the real Thomas Carter.

St. Louis University LAURENCE P. MCHATTIE

DOCUMENTS

THE FIRST ILLINOIS WHEAT

The Illinois Country was at an early date the granary of the French settlements, and travellers and memorialists seldom failed to note that the Illinois settlers were successfully cultivating wheat. Its introduction in the Illinois Country has usually been attributed to the Jesuit missionaries. Alvord, the historian of Illinois, remarks: "The most important crop was wheat, its cultivation having been early introduced by the Jesuits."[1] An ornamental advertisement in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, bearing the title, *Premiere Culture de Bled aux Illinois,* describes its alleged introduction by Zebedée, a donné of the Jesuit missionaries at the Kaskaskia.[2] In the March of 1718 Zebedée sowed a bushel of wheat and at the end of July gathered a harvest of ninety bushels. Zebedée's neighbors promptly followed his example.[3] How well they succeeded is evident from the notes of visitors and travellers. Some of these, however, indicate that the cultivation of wheat in the Illinois Country must have begun before 1718. As early as 1687 Joutel, describing the sojourn of the Abbé Cavelier and his companions at Fort St. Louis, mentions

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[1] *The Illinois Country,* p. 208. Mrs. Miller Surrey after a similar statement notes the amount of flour shipped to the New Orleans market from year to year. *The Commerce of Louisiana during the French Regime, 1699-1763,* p. 288.

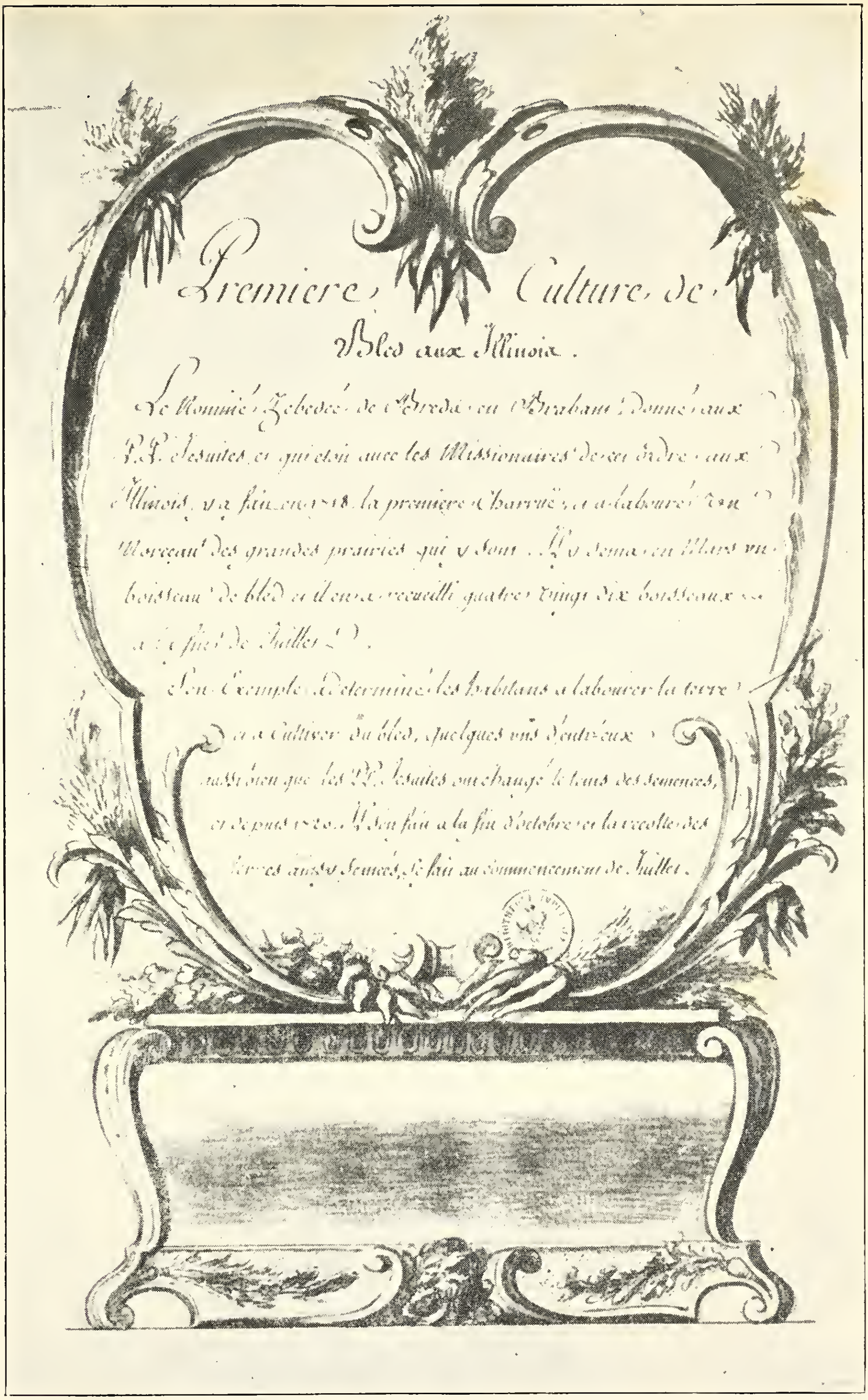
[2] Bibliothèque Nationale, Mss. fr. nouvelles acquisitions, 2552:161. Mrs. Miller Surrey's planograph calendar of material on American history in the French archives dates the document 1735. The accompanying cut is from a photostat copy in the Congressional Library. A number of other documents framed, like the present one, in decorative borders are in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, a not unlikely conjecture being that they were originally made for display with a view to interesting the public in the Illinois country. A translation of the "wheat-document" follows:

"THE FIRST CULTIVATION OF WHEAT AT THE ILLINOIS

A man named Zebedée from Breda in Brabant, a donné of the Jesuit Fathers, who was with the missionaries of this order at the Illinois, made the first plow there in 1718 and tilled a bit of the broad prairies which are there. In March he sowed a bushel of wheat and reaped from it ninety bushels at the end of July.

His example has caused the habitants to till the earth and to cultivate wheat. Some of them as well as the Jesuit Fathers have changed the time of sowing and since 1720 it is done at the end of October and the harvest from the land thus sowed is made in the beginning of July."

[3] In the Register of the Parish of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia (Randolph County, Illinois) it is recorded that the donné Zebedée Le Jeune died December 18, 1727, and was interred in the parish church under the second pew from the middle.



Premiere Culture de Bled aux Illinois.

Le Nommé Zebedée de Bredá en Brabant, donné aux P.P. Jesuites et qui etoit avec les Missionaires de cet ordre aux Illinois, y a fait en 1718 la premiere Charrüe et a labouré un Morceau des grandes prairies qui y sont. Il y sema en Mars un boisseau de bled et il en a recueilli quatre vingt dix boisseaux a la fin de Juillet.

Son Exemple a determiné les habitans a labourer la terre et a Cultiver du bled, quelques uns d'entre eux aussi bien que les PP. Jesuites ont changé le tems des semences, et depuis 1720 Il s'en fait a la fin d'octobre et la recolte des terres ainsi semées se fait au commencement de Juillet.

that wheat brought from Canada had been sown and that they had eaten bread made from it at the fort.[4] The cultivation of wheat at Fort St. Louis could not have been extensive, however, for Joutel mentions that, as there was not much of it, they usually ate Indian corn. M. Crozat, writing to the Council of the Marine in 1716 about the connection that ought to exist between the post at the Akansa and those at the Wabash and at the Illinois, refers to the necessity of getting wheat and flour at the Illinois.[5] A memorialist of 1718 represents the Kaskaskia Indians as industrious; moreover, "in addition to raising a large supply of maize, the Indians thereabouts produce also considerable wheat . . . . The wheat comes up very fine there; it is sown in autumn."[6]

Lallemant writing to the Directors of the Company of the Indies in 1721 furnishes interesting data about the cultivation of wheat by the French Canadian settlers at Kaskaskia. "The little prairie of the Kaskaskia alone has furnished all the French wheat, a *minot* [39 liters] sells for from ten to twelve livres according to the times. Formerly it was not of such value and it is only since two or three years that its value has risen." He mentions further that the seed is planted from March to April twentieth and that the wheat is harvested from July to August fifteenth.[7] Father Charlevoix, a Jesuit visitor to the Kaskaskia in that same year, reports the French as being "at their ease"; moreover, "a Fleming, a servant of the Jesuits, has taught them to sow wheat, and it thrives very well."[8] Another official visitor to Kaskaskia two years later (1723) notes how successfully wheat was cultivated there. Says Dartaguiette, the Inspector General of Louisiana: "French wheat grows very well there and of a fine quality, of which they gather a fairly large quantity which they sell for the subsistence of the troops . . . . Several inhabitants also have tread mills of their own with which they grind their French wheat."[9]

Cleveland, Ohio SISTER MARY BORGIAS, S. N. D., A. M.

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[4] Joutel's Journal in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des François dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale des François dans memoires et documents inedits,* 3:493.

[5] *Archives Nationales, Colonies,* 13A 4:120.

[6] *New York Colonial Documents,* 9:891.

[7] *Archives Service Hydrographique,* 115: No. 29.

[8] Charlevoix, *A Voyage to North America,* 2:166.

[9] "Journal of Diron d'Artaguiette, Inspector General of Louisiana, 1722-1723" in Mereness, *Travels in the North American Colonies,* 67, 68.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

On June 17, 1930, in the Cathedral of Belleville, Illinois, Monsignor Joseph H. L. Schlarman was consecrated Bishop of Peoria, his Eminence Cardinal Mundelein assisted by Bishops Althoff and Hoban being the consecrating prelate. To the new incumbent of the see of Peoria MID-AMERICA extends its most cordial congratulations and good wishes with a prayer that every blessing of heaven may rest upon him in his shepherding of this portion of the Christian flock. It is especially gratifying to the managing personnel of a Catholic historical review to see the ranks of the American hierarchy reenforced by one who has already achieved distinction as an historian of note and whose antecedents give assurance that he will lend from the vantage point of his new dignity sympathy and support to the promotion of the great cause of Catholic history in the United States. Bishop Schlarman's recently issued *From Quebec to New Orleans* is a retelling, in agreeable literary form and with abounding evidence of critical scholarship and research, of one of the most fascinating historical themes of all time—the never-to-be-forgotten adventure political, social and religious of the French people on the stage of New France. The pageantry and drama of it all live again in the pages of this engaging book. Inevitably missionary zeal and enterprise loom large in the story; the adventure of the eager Gallic pioneers that led them from semi-Arctic Quebec to semi-tropical New Orleans was motived largely by religious aims. Champlain and his successors sought not less to extend the empire of the Cross than to build up French political power and prestige in the New World. It is among the merits of Bishop Schlarman's book that this key to a correct understanding of the history of New France determines in great measure the course of the narrative and the selection of data. Other skillful hands have handled the same theme, Parkman, Finlay, and, quite recently, Professor Wrong of Toronto; but none have succeeded better than the Bishop of Peoria in bringing out in due relief the commanding share of Catholic missionaries of the Gospel in the development of New France.

The book, one must not fail to mention, is admirably illustrated, the appeal of the text being heightened repeatedly by effective appeal to the eye.

MID-AMERICA extends a cordial hand of welcome to the *Iowa Catholic Historical Review,* the initial number of which bears date January, 1930. This new serial is the official organ of the Iowa Catholic Historical Society and is published by that organization, which is the most recent of the already numerous bodies devoted to the study, preservation and publication of Catholic church history, general or regional, in the United States. The editor of the new journal, Rev. M. M. Hoffman of Columbia College, Dubuque, comes fully qualified to his task, having already made searching studies in the field of Iowa Catholic history and embodied the results thereof in illuminating and highly readable published papers. To this inaugural number of the *Iowa Catholic Historical Review,* he contributes under the caption "From Early Iowa to Boston" a previously unpublished letter of Bishop Loras of Dubuque in which that prelate gives details of a journey to the eastern sea-board in 1846, incidently throwing new light on the curious episode of the Winnebago Mission, which Father Hoffman recounts with satisfying detail in the present issue of MID-AMERICA.

Other contents of the review are: "A Message from the President" (i. e. of the Iowa Catholic Historical Society, the Hon. Martin J. Wade of Iowa City), "H. V. Gildea, Pioneer Church Builder" by Rev. C. F. Griffith and "First Religious Ministrations on the Site of the Present City of Sioux City" by Msgr. Thomas J. McCarthy. Father Griffith's well documented article supplies informing details on the career of Hugh Vincent Gildea, church builder and co-worker with Father Mazzuchelli at Iowa City, and moreover establishes the interesting circumstance that the old capitol at Iowa City was built in part according to plans furnished by the famous Dominican missionary. Msgr. McCarthy's contribution discloses what was not previously known to local historians, that the earliest religious services on the site of Sioux City, Iowa, were conducted in 1850 by the pioneer Potawatomi missionary, Father Christian Hoecken, S. J. What is especially gratifying in the articles noted is the amount of altogether new data that is thus being gradually added to our existing stock of information on Catholic church history in the West. In the very first issue of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* Dr. Clarence Walworth Alvord, probably the most outstanding historian that the Middle-west has yet produced, wrote that only two things justify one in venturing into print on an historical topic, the possession of new material or a really worth while re-statement and reinterpretation of old material. Editors of historical reviews are to be congratulated who can hold their contributors rigorously to this standard.

A demonstration in honor of Padre Eusebio Kino, the famous Jesuit missionary and explorer of the Spanish Southwest, took place at Tucson, Arizona, March 15, 1930, it being the two hundred and nineteenth anniversary of his death. Tucsonians generally, regardless of creed, took part in it and Dr. William John Tucker, professor of English at the University of Arizona, who presided over the meeting, spoke in part as follows:

"If you will come with me in spirit, I shall try to put before you a very beautiful and inspiring picture. Think back some 250 years and see a solitary horseman, followed by a pack-mule, pushing his way across the desert somewhere in southern Arizona. He has lost his way, and is trying to get back to the trail, with only his sense of direction for guide. I see the traveler dismount. He draws from his pocket a much worn book, and baring his head, kneels at the foot of a cruciform tree.

"Under his buckskin riding coat, he wears a black vest and the cravat and collar of a churchman. His bowed head is not that of an ordinary man—it is built for the seat of a fine intelligence. His brow is open, generous, reflective, his features handsome and somewhat severe. Everything about him shows him to be a man of gentle birth—brave, sensitive, courteous. His manners even when he is alone in the desert, are distinguished. He has a kind of courtesy toward himself, toward his beasts, toward the tree before which he kneels, and the God whom he is addressing.

"This man has thrown himself upon the hard heart of a country calculated to try the endurance of giants. He has thirsted in its deserts, starved among its rocks, climbed up and down its terrible canyons on stone-bruised feet, and broken long fasts by unclean and repugnant food. Surely he has endured hunger, thirsts, cold and nakedness, of a kind beyond any conception St. Paul and his brethren could have had. Whatever the early Christians suffered, it all happened in that safe little Mediterranean world, amid the old manners, the old landmarks. If they endured martyrdom, they died among their brethren, their relics were piously preserved, their names lived in the mouths of holy men. But this man has risked torture and death alone among infidels.

"Who is this traveler and for what purpose has he come? His name is Eusebio Francisco Kino and he has come from his home in the Austrian Tyrol, sacrificing everything near and dear to him, to plant the Cross of Christ in a pagan land.

"But though we think of Padre Kino first and foremost as a saintly missionary, he is even more than that. He is a great Christian statesman, a great explorer, and above all he is the great pioneer of our Southwestern civilization. As such he belongs to all of us—Catholic, Protestant, Jew, and sceptic. In very truth could Padre Kino say with Othello: 'I have done the State some service and they know it.'

"To this remarkable man is due the credit for first traversing in detail and accurately mapping the whole of Pimeria Alta, the name then applied to southern Arizona and northern Sonora. During his 24 years of residence at the mission of Dolores, he made more than fifty journeys inland, varying from more than a hundred to a thousand miles in length. They were all made either on foot or on horseback, through territory inhabited by unknown tribes who might have offered him personal violence. These routes were over forbidding, waterless wastes, which have since become the graveyards of scores of travelers who have died of thirst because they lacked his pioneering skill. In these journeys his energy and hardihood are almost beyond belief. No wonder Professor Bolton says that the good Padre's 'endurance in the saddle was worthy of a seasoned Cowboy.' It was his custom to ride 30, 40, 50, and even 60 miles a day. And on one occasion he is said to have ridden 75 miles in one day to save the life of an Indian who had been sentenced to death.

"The work which Padre Kino did as a ranchman would alone make him worthy of remembrance. He was easily the cattle king of his day and region. The stock-raising industry of nearly 20 places on the modern map owes its beginnings to this tireless man. But it must not be supposed that he did this for private gain, for he did not own a single animal. It was to furnish a food supply for the Indians of his missions, and to give these missions a basis of economic prosperity and independence. In 1700, when the beautiful mission of San Xavier was founded, he rounded up the fourteen hundred head of cattle on the ranch of his own mission of Dolores, divided them into two equal droves, and sent one of them to Tucson.

"Aside from his search for souls, Padre Kino's most absorbing quest was made in search of a land route to California. In his university days he had been taught that California was a peninsula, and he had come to America firm in this belief; but in deference to public opinion, he gave up the idea and looked upon California as 'the largest island of the world.' But in one of his journeys an incident occurred that caused him to turn again to the peninsular theory. It was the gift, when near Yuma, of certain blue shells, such as he had seen on the Pacific coast, and there only. If the shells had come to the Yumas from the South Sea, he reasoned, must there not be a land connection with California and the ocean, by way of the Yuma country?"

In the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June appears a thirty-page carefully documented article written by Rev. George Paré of the Sacred Heart Seminary, Detroit, tracing the history of St. Joseph Mission on the river of the same name,—

the first Jesuit mission to be established in the Lower Peninsula of Michigan according to the writer. The furious raids of the Iroquois westward, beginning in 1648, had driven the Miami and Potawatomi tribes from this region and for the next forty years it was a No Man's Land. In 1689 a grant was made to Father Dablon and other Jesuits to establish a mission among the tribes who had ventured back to their former haunts, and a spot supposed to have been located on the banks of the St. Joseph River one to three miles south of the present city of Niles, Michigan, was selected. Just when this St. Joseph Mission was established is unknown, nor is it certain who was its founder. That he was Father Allouez is a statement that "rests more upon inference than upon evidence," according to Father Paré. There are two bits of evidence that he died, however, at this spot. One is that Father Charlevoix, who visited the Mission in 1721, writes that Father Allouez died on the St. Joseph River; the other is that the Indians told the first white settlers in the vicinity of Niles that a large wooden cross standing on a bluff near the river "marked the resting-place of a missionary and that it had been replaced as often as it had fallen from age and decay." We know that no other Jesuit of that time could have died at that spot.

In 1690 Father Aveneau came to St. Joseph Mission. He was followed by Father Chardon, who "knows every Indian language spoken on the Lakes," wrote Father Marest, who visited him there. A baptismal register has lately come to light in the archives of the Quebec Seminary of great value for the history of the Mission. It begins with an entry by Father Michael Guignas, dated August 15, 1720. The names on the register indicate that French traders had by that time settled in the region round about, among them Charles-Ange Collet, "probably the first native of Michigan to enter the priesthood," writes Father Paré. Father Charlevoix, as stated above, visited the Mission in 1721. Shortly afterwards Father Guignas was "summoned to the chair of hydrography at the College of Quebec"—an eloquent testimony to the intellectual caliber of a missionary to Indians in this wilderness. Other Jesuits followed, among them Father Gibault, the "Patriot Priest" whose services to George Rogers Clark are well known. The last of the line of Jesuit missionaries at St. Joseph Mission was Father Potier, who was found dead before his fireplace in 1781. "The subsequent history of the locality becomes that of a French settlement clustered about Fort St. Joseph."

While we are in the field of Michigan history we may call attention to a paper by Sister Francis Stace, S. C., of Mount St. Joseph, Ohio, appearing in the spring number of the *Michigan History Magazine,* on "Michigan's Contribution to Literature." James Fenimore Cooper drew material for his novel *Oak Openings* from scenes on the St. Joseph River, which he visited.

In the March number of *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* issued by the Oklahoma Historical Society, an article with the title, "Entertainments of the Spanish Explorers," written by Winifred Johnston, tells of the amusements—dances, songs and plays—by which the early explorers tried to maintain the *morale*—but hardly the morals—of their soldiery during their long and arduous marches through unexplored stretches of Mexico and our Southwest. Cortes's march across Yucatan in 1525 was so terrible that "forty years afterwards the memory of that march yet remained with his men." On the journey some of the entertainers died, "two falconers, five musicians, an acrobat and jugglers." A hundred and fifty years later Juan Bautista de Anza is pressing on toward Monterey, the goal of his expedition. Momentarily he halts to make camp at the edge of the great sand dunes of the Colorado Desert. "While the friars in the party," so we are told by Bolton in his *Spanish Borderlands,* "sought to convert the Yumas who thronged the camp, the soldiers, who had a fiddler with them, held nightly dances with the Indian girls, there in the rim of the desert, defying its menaces with their jollity. Such were the men who over the waterless Devil's Highway, through the Royal Pass to San Carlos, to San Gabriel and Monterey and back to Tubac, made the trail of the white men to cross the Sierras." Over the same trail, two years later, in 1775, to quote the article before us, "Anza led out from the Arizona post the first colony destined for San Francisco. Two hundred people comprised the party: soldiers, friars and thirty families. Ribbons for the women and children and for the hats and hair of the men were included in the list of essential provisions. A stop of six days was made at Yuma, where the first white settlement was made with the erection of a cabin for Fathers Garces and Eixarch and their servants." The friars rebuked even the leader of the expedition for permitting immoral songs and dances in camp. But better forms of amusement were provided in the plays, which are among the earliest of those performed on the North American continent. Mary Austin, writing for *Theatre Arts Monthly* for August, 1929, claims to possess the manuscript of a play performed on the soil of the United States, July 10, 1598, "which is still performed on Holy Cross Day within ten miles of its original performance." Even an earlier performance, however, is that of a play "written by one of Oñate's men, Captain Marcos Farfan de los Godos. It was performed on April 30, 1598, on the river just below El Paso, where Oñate struck camp to take formal possession of the lands to the north and west for his Lord and his King." The ceremonial began with Mass and a sermon and closed with the performance of the play.

"On the Hennepin Trail" is the title of an address made before the Minnesota Historical Society on January 13, 1930, by Edward C. Gale, and published in the March number of *Minnesota History.* Mr. Gale seems to follow C. J. Bertrand's History of Ath, Belgium, the reputed birthplace of Father Hennepin, in his search of material on the famous explorer. He gives some data upon family history and presents in a frontispiece views of Rue Hennepin and of the Hennepin Pump erected to the memory of their fellow townsman by citizens of that place. Father Hennepin speaks of himself in one of his books as "a native of Ath in Hainault"; but Dr. Shea expressed some doubt about it. Born there probably in 1640, he originally bore the name Jean, which he changed to Louis upon entering the Recollect order of Franciscans. He early manifested a consuming interest in accounts of distant countries, and sought the docks to listen to the tales told of "remote places" by seamen, although "the smoak of tabacco was offensive to me and created pain in my stomach," as an early English translation of his own words puts it. In 1675 he was at last able to gratify his desire to travel and embarked at Rochelle for New France "on that voyage of discovery which was to put the Falls of St. Anthony of Padua on the map and make its discoverer famous," as Mr. Gale writes. This was his only voyage, from which he returned in 1681, and two years later his book entitled *Description de la Louisiane* was published at Paris and was widely read. If he had been content with the renown that came to him following its appearance, Mr. Gale thinks it would have been better for his reputation. But Mr. Gale's espousal of the theory that the extravagant claim of having reached the mouth of the Mississippi, made by Father Hennepin in his two later works, and other questionable statements, are interpolations is not shared by historians generally. The writer of the article on Hennepin in the *Catholic Encyclopedia,* John W. Willis, says: "The weight of evidence is adverse to such a theory." In recent years the question has assumed the proportions of a serious historical problem. Father Jerome Goyens, a Franciscan Minor, has sought to rehabilitate the reputation of his Franciscan brother. His book has been examined by the Abbé H. A. Scott in a forty-seven page critique published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada (3d series, vol. 21, section I, p. 113-160, 1927). So the question seems to be still debatable.

The two works that form the basis for attack are Hennepin's *Nouvelle découverte d'un tres grand pays,* first published at Utrecht in 1697; and his *Nouveau voyage d'un pais plus grand que l'Europe,* published also at Utrecht in 1698. After Father Hennepin's return to Europe "he seems to have led a restless sort of a life, wandering from city to city and from country, now in one clerical post and now in another." He lost the favor of the French monarch and "the archives of the French Government contain an order from Louis XIV directing the governor of New France to arrest the famous missionary and traveller in case of his appearance in America and to send him home" (Cath. Encycl., vii, 27). Father Hennepin died probably at Rome soon after 1701. (Contributed by William Stetson Merrill, A. B., The John Crerar Library, Chicago.)

As this issue was about to go to press, the death was announced of Joseph J. Thompson, LL. D., first editor of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* now MID-AMERICA. An extended notice of Mr. Thompson's services to the *Review* will appear in our October issue.

BOOK REVIEWS

De Soto and the Conquistadores. By Theodore Maynard, New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1930, pp. XIII+297. $3.50.

The first century of American history is a record of Spanish achievement. More than a hundred years passed after the discovery before either the French or English had planted a successful colony in the New World. Their colonial beginnings can with some justification be divided into periods of discovery, exploration, and settlement. No such division, however, is applicable to the Spanish activities, for settlements were made almost as rapidly as suitable regions were discovered. By 1600 the Spanish had occupied a vast area and had transplanted European civilization to America. History records no greater achievement within so short a period—an epic accomplishment awaiting the poet.

In the early part of the sixteenth century the Spanish were keenly conscious of their newly achieved nationality. Their courage and unity had been developed in the long struggle with the Moors and by the necessity of guarding their religion with jealous care. The crusading zeal was not consumed in victory, but found its outlet in the conquest of the Indies. Professor Maynard shows a sympathetic appreciation of this background and correctly portrays De Soto as one of the knightliest of those who bore the banners of Spain.

In 1519 De Soto, nineteen years of age, arrived in Castilla del Oro. He soon formed a partnership with Ponce de León and came under the tutelage of that interesting old scoundrel Pedrarias. De Soto was an apt pupil and doubtless did his share of slave hunting and the execution of orders which called for courage and blunted sensibilities. He found prosperity in Nicaragua and was able to assist in financing Pizarro's famous expedition into Peru. De Soto played an important role in that conquest and returned to Spain a very wealthy man. He was soon overcome by restlessness and embarked for America to explore Florida. His fame and wealth enabled him to enlist a goodly number of able men and to gather elaborate equipment. The tragic wanderings of the brave six hundred constitute the most colorful and significant part of De Soto's career.

Professor Maynard has written an interesting book. He shows that he has made careful use of the published sources and has made no extravagant claims for his hero. The book is a happy combination of scholarship and popular writing. It will not of course satisfy specialists in the field, and in a few sections the author appears to be struggling with his material; but books which tend to popularize sound views and liberal interpretations should receive a hearty welcome, and this book easily falls within such a class. Examples of doubtful statements or minor errors may be detected on pages 15, 17, 133, 154, 171, 229, and 243. The book contains an excellent bibliography, a good index, and several attractive illustrations taken from old drawings.

EDGAR B. WESLEY, Ph. D.

Pioneer Catholic Journalism. By Paul J. Foik, C. S. C., Ph. D., New York, The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1930, pp. X+221.

In this study of Catholic periodical literature Dr. Foik has rendered a valuable service to students of both the secular and ecclesiastical history of the United States. The period covered, 1809 to 1840, might well be called "the critical era" of the history of the Catholic Church in this country. Mainly as a result of immigration the Catholic population was growing rapidly. Though still small in numbers it was by no means insignificant. Being the heir to age-old traditions of suspicion, prejudice, and hatred it was subjected to occasional outbursts of mob violence, aided and abetted by pulpit and press. In spite of constitutional guarantees hostile forces were ever at work to abridge the liberty of Catholics. The history of pioneer Catholic journalism as traced in this work becomes a more or less gigantic struggle for civil and reglious liberty. "The whole disposition of Catholic journalism during these first decades seems to have been to promote harmony by removing from the pathway of Protestants the groundless prejudices and prepossessions which had grown into social barriers, due chiefly to the circulation of misrepresentation and calumnies by enemies of Catholicism in Europe, and to the supineness of the Catholic body in the face of such gross fabrications."

The general plan followed by the author is to trace the origin, scope, progress, and design of newspapers and magazines which were devoted wholly, or in part, to the interests of the Catholic Church in the United States. The forerunner of the distinctly Catholic press was the Irish national journal, which was established to maintain and defend the national and religious principles and convictions of citizens of Irish birth and extraction who were the first to experience and repel the assaults of the Puritan ascendancy in Church and State. Wherever data are available, the author presents a systematic account of the forty-three newspapers and magazines which arose during the period under consideration. Many were shortlived, others struggled along valiantly against heavy odds, and but two survived until the present day. These are the *Catholic Telegraph* founded in Cincinnati in 1831 and the *Boston Pilot,* which dates from 1836.

The Church at times had to contend against both internal and external foes. The canker of trusteeism and petty bickerings was scarcely less annoying than aggressive nativism. Under these circumstances the record of the Catholic press is neither dull nor ignoble. Thanks to the abundant quotations and the author's guidance we can follow the spirited controversies which characterized the period when Catholics needed able defenders and militant journalists to resist the assaults of fanatics from without, and intermeddling busybodies within the fold. Who can estimate how much the Church of the twentieth century owes to the vigorous and sometimes militant press of the first half of the nineteenth?

HUGH GRAHAM, Ph. D.

A History of the Catholic Church in Jamaica, B. W. I., 1494-1929. By Francis X. Delaney, S. J., Jesuit Mission Press, New York, 1930, pp. XI+292. $2.50.

The author presents a modest disclaimer that his work is "not as pretentious nor as serious as the title would imply." Yet he would be the last to maintain that the stuff out of which history is made is always so terribly solemn. The chapter "An Historic Event" is proof of that. The history would suffer by the omission of this chapter for perhaps nowhere but in Jamaica could such an "Event" have happened. To call his volume "hardly more than a series of documents and notes," as the author does, is in the reviewer's opinion justified only in the case of the letter of Bishop O'Hare relative to the St. Januarius miracle witnessed at Naples. But this excursiveness or rather expansiveness is forgiven for the author thereby makes us feel that history is largely made up of the doings of men and women surprisingly like ourselves.

The first stroke of the author's pen pictures Jamaica, a tropical island, 144 by 40 miles, with nearly a million people, located in the Carribean Sea 90 miles south of Cuba, on the direct route from the Panama Canal to London and to New York. The second stroke gives us the discovery of this lovely isle by the Spaniards on May 3, 1494, a scant four months after the celebration of the first Mass in the New World, and then its capture May 10, 1655, under Cromwell's régime, by the English, who have held it ever since. The third and most striking element of the picture is the continuity which results from the unity and variety included in the Catholicity of the Church. That ecclesiastical continuity is not broken by the succession of absentee Titular Abbots, of Vicar Generals, and finally of Bishops, nor by the transfer of the spiritual charge of the island from the English to the Maryland-New York and lastly to the New England Province of the Society of Jesus, which Society since 1855 has had direct control of the Jamaican Mission.

In evidence of variety, a truly tropical variety, we witness Franciscans, Dominicans, a lone Benedictine, and Jesuits laboring in this tropical vineyard of the Lord. The variety in the nationality of its priests is even more striking, for we find Spanish, French, English, Irish, German, Portugese, Austrian, Belgian, American, and, at an early date, native Jamaican.

This copious variety overflows into other fields. We meet a Jamaican citizen who is a brother of Mrs. Elizabeth Browning, two nuns who bear the family name, and very likely a family relationship therewith, of St. Thomas Aquinas, and a priest with the family name of Shakespeare's wife, Hathaway. We see black imported slaves, among them one Catholic group with a marvelously preserved faith, and we see skilled native Indian workers, well paid. We see co-operation and good feeling between Catholic and non-Catholic. Church and State are in almost complete rapport on the problem of school support though a still further refinement of co-operation, looking to moral teaching, though without compulsion, in all schools of the island was untimely nipped in the bud by the World War. Religious societies galore flourish within the parishes.

The exceeding beauty of this isle may be somewhat offset by the major earthquakes, hurricanes and pestilences of its history; but its spirit does not succumb to them.

Commendable is the author's human touch, though we think that such things as the matter-of-fact glimpses he gives of the man in the government prisons will rather shock the sanctimonious among the moderns.

In reproducing the storied past the author's purpose to "keep fresh the memory of the men and women, lay as well as clerical, who have contributed their services and in many cases their lives, to the spread of the Faith in the Island," has about it a whiff of the atmosphere one breathes in the Epistles of St. Paul. An index and plentiful illustrations serve the author's purpose admirably. The author is fair to those who have left his own order. To the reviewer, standing on the sidelines, it almost seems that a milder interpretation of the description by Sir Hans Sloane (pp. 8-9) could reconcile his account with the facts given.

DAMIAN LEANDER CUMMINS, O. S. B., A. M.

New York in the American Revolution. By Wilbur C. Abbott, Professor of History, Harvard University. Illustrations Selected by Victor H. P. Paltsits, Chief of American History Division, New York Public Library. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929, pp. XIII+302. $3.50.

This volume, the work of a student of American but more especially of European history, treats of the part played by New York City in the Revolutionary period, from 1763 to 1783. The book is divided, chronologically and topically, into two parts. The first half describes the critical events and movements leading up to the establishment of independence. The attitude of the New Yorkers toward the Stamp Act is vividly developed by the use of quotations from the primary sources, including letters of eye-witnesses and public bulletins. The opposition of the newspapers to the Act is regarded as a "minor revolution." The New York papers were "unlicensed and uncensored." Then follows a discussion of the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war. This part is but a repetition of earlier works on the same subject and is extremely uninteresting and poorly organized.

The second half begins with the War and ends with the evacuation of the city by the British troops in 1783. Strangely enough, hardly one page is given to the American prisoners in New York during the occupation. On the other hand generous space is devoted to the daily life of the army of occupation, to newspapers and to the social circles of the city. During the later years of the occupation living conditions became very unbearable. The population grew from 17,000 to 30,000. Poverty became a serious problem. Food "grew scarcer and more expensive . . . . " "Tea was 18s. a pound. Grain, after the first years of the war, was brought largely from Ireland." The narrative ends with the evacuation. A very dull description of the ceremonies attached to the formal withdrawal of the English soldiers is given. The author even goes into details when he pictures Washington's farewell to his officers in the Long Room of Fraunces' Tavern. Several other incidents are faithfully related.

Scholarship is in evidence throughout the work. At the end of the book a bibliography of one hundred references divided into contemporary and later writings affords ample opportunity for securing more materials. Although the text is for the general reader, it is unfortunate that so few footnotes appear. Fourteen illustrations, some of them rare and never before used in history books, serve to render the volume more popular and interesting. The work is not very original, in fact, many choice selections are taken from familiar secondary works. But the new facts Professor Abbott's book does present joined with a rich interpretation of previous works on the same subject will make the prominence New York City had in the Revolution better recognized and appreciated by students of this period of American history. Its clearness, simplicity, historical accuracy and impartiality appeal both to the general and special student of the Revolution.

GEORGE F. DONOVAN, A. M.

Growing with the West: the Story of a Busy, Quiet Life. By John M. Stahl, Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1930, pp. X+515. $5.00.

Some years ago after reading *The Americanization of Edward Bok,* we concluded that the title did not do justice to the book. America did not remake Edward Bok; on the contrary, Edward Bok exercised a wide influence on American life. His autobiography should have been entitled: *The Bokization of America.* A similar conclusion was reached after reading the volume of Mr. Stahl. His book should not be entitled: *Growing with the West,* but *Showing the West how to Grow.*

The principal interest of this autobiography is the influence of one man in moulding public opinion and initiating movements which tended to aid whole sections of the country. He had exceptional advantages of observing the obstacles to the advancement of the Mississippi Valley and he set himself squarely to the task of doing more than his part in mastering the difficulties. As a writer and publisher from his early years, he lost no opportunity to carry forward a movement of which he saw the importance.

Now that we have free rural delivery and parcel post, it is easy to enjoy the benefits and not pause to think of the labor in bringing about these advantages. We are apt to attribute the introduction of such changes to the wisdom of law makers or government officials; but it required men of the stamp of John M. Stahl to understand the needs of such reforms and to devise means of bringing legislation to solve them. The long and untiring fight of Mr. Stahl for rural delivery and parcel post is an interesting story in the building of the great West and North West. But his influence went into the farthest part of the South, and while he saw the needs of the Mississippi Valley first, he carried his cause to every section of the land.

The campaign for parcel post and free rural delivery could not meet with success unless there was a decided improvement in country roads; and to the program of good roads Mr. Stahl lent his wide experience and enthusiasm. His work was always thorough and scientific. When he toured the country, pleading for Federal and State aid in the construction of roads, he was prepared to answer every difficulty. He could point out the best methods of construction, as shown by the long experience of European countries; he knew the cost of materials; he understood the best and cheapest ways of construction. He won his cause for good roads just as he had won his fight for free delivery of mail.

Sociologists lay great stress upon creating the "social mind." The people must become "like-minded" before a great movement can succeed. Mr. Stahl was a good sociologist. He knew how to conduct a well-planned campaign, a campaign that worked slowly, but carried the people with it and created the "social mind" for good roads and free rural delivery of mails. Of his methods and success he tells us in this autobiography.

But Mr. Stahl did not limit his experience to farmers and politicians. He sought out the leading writers of his time and locality; and while he enjoyed the literary productions of his contemporaries, he read with eagerness the English classics and Greek philosophers.

Some readers may find the many details of the author's early life too minute to be interesting. Any one who has a fair knowledge of the early history of Illinois will be amused at Mr. Stahl's ignorance of the first settlers who, according to him, "were Jesuit missionaries possessed by a grotesque and pathetic, yet admirable and glorious, fanaticism." He goes on to discuss the rather novel question as to whether the Trappists or the Jesuits were the first settlers in Illinois. We cannot correct all the mistakes on pages 31 and 32: but if a new edition of the book should appear, we suggest that he entirely rewrite these two pages. The value of the book would have been greatly enhanced by a good index.

Henry S. Spalding, S. J.

Life of Mother Catherine Aurelia of the Precious Blood, Foundress of the Institute of the Precious Blood, 1833-1905, B. Herder Book Company, St. Louis, Mo. $2.50.

There is something like an inundation of the literary field by biographical publications: lives of warriors, statesmen, politicians, queens and kings and emperors, poets, dramatists, actors, musical composers and celebrities from all the walks of life, good, bad and indifferent. We have not the heart to deplore this patent fact except in as far as the multiplicity of such writings is liable to discourage the reading of what is really worth while. The biography of Mother Catherine Aurelia is really worth while both in regard to its subject and its literary treatment. If there were any doubt about this it would be dispelled by the fact that the distinguished writer on spiritual and mystical subjects, Father A. M. Skelly, O. P., has written a fine introduction to the book. The name of the author is not given, but it is a member of the Institute of the Precious Blood. Ninety-three years ago this coming July 11 there was born in the city of St. Hyacinth, Providence of Quebec, a girl that was baptized Aurelia; her family name was Caouette. Her home was a happy one, thoroughly Christian, full of faith and piety. Aurelia was the eighth child in the order of birth but she soon proved herself to be the child of benediction "in the family." At the age of nine years she made her First Holy Communion. She was a model of simplicity, sweetness and piety, serious during school hours, joyous of heart and full of witty sayings in time of relaxation. She early manifested a decided attachment to her own ideas. She was quick tempered but she made earnest and serious efforts to master herself. She was a thoroughly human girl, kind hearted, gracious and loving, realizing her faults in the spirit of humility and thus becoming through grace the center of admiration and affection to all who came in contact with her. How this lovely and lovable girl became in union with Bishop La Roque the Mother Foundress of the contemplative Order of the Precious Blood (1861) is shown step by step in these absorbingly interesting chapters. The Institute of Mother Catherine Aurelia has a number of houses in Canada, United States, Cuba, and Rome.

JOHN E. ROTHENSTEINER

The Sisters of St. Francis of the Holy Family, Jesus, Mary and Joseph. By Sister Mary Cortona Gloden, B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis, Mo., 1928. $3.50.

The religious community whose rise and development are so ably described in the twenty-three chapters of this book is an offshoot of the French Sisters of the Holy Cross of Strasbourg. Its origin was peculiar in more than one sense. The birthplace was a predominantly Protestant city of Northern Germany, the historic town of Herford, at that time counting 12,000 inhabitants. In 1836 the Rev. Bernard Heising was appointed pastor of the Catholic congregation at Herford and soon afterwards Dean of Bielefeld. As usual in such Protestant communities, the Catholics were scattered and generally of the poorer class. The zealous Dean found many orphan children that required his care. He placed some of them in good Catholic families and others in Catholic institutions. But his means were limited and the demand continued to grow. He decided to found an orphan asylum under the care of some Sisterhood that might at some future days take charge of a Catholic hospital also. He bought a large private residence and a warehouse and transformed them into a convent for the Sisters and a home for the orphans. In 1852 he made application for Sisters at Heitheisen, received them in 1858 and lost them within two years. Nothing daunted by this first reverse, Father Heising asked for Sisters of the Holy Cross at Strasbourg and obtained them January 15, 1860. On February 3 of that year four Sisters of the Holy Cross began their labor of love in the convent and orphanage of Bethlehem in Herford. Eventually the Superior, Sister M. Xavier, with the approval of Bishop Conrad Mavlin of Paderborn and the consent of her superior at Strasbourg established a new congregation of Sisters with their Motherhouse at Herford. The Austria-Prussian War in 1866 gave the Sisters a great opportunity of nursing the sick and wounded. So far they had not taken any vows, the Sister Superior had invested them and their life was the regular one ordinarily followed by religious. Late in 1866 the community adopted the rule of Franciscan Tertiaries. On February 11, 1868, sixteen members received the habit of episcopal authority. The congregation of the "Poor Sisters of Mercy of the Third Order of St. Francis" was an established fact. The membership increased rapidly. The year 1870 brought another great opportunity of service to the sick and wounded, two of their number falling victims of the war. The "Iron Cross" was bestowed upon the Sister-nurses for distinguished services to the Fatherland; but it was soon followed by the heavy and bitter cross of persecution and exile. The so-called "Kulturkampf" had set in making life unbearable for the Sisters.

In 1869 the Superior became acquainted with an American priest, Father William Emonds of Iowa City, Iowa. To him she directed inquiries whether her whole community could find refuge in America. The zealous priest gladly extended an invitation to them to come to Iowa City. Father Heising in Herford obtained the services of a few pious matrons for his orphanage, and so the Sisters could depart without too heavy misgivings.

The Bishop himself was a prisoner in the fortress of Wesel and from his cell he gave the Sisters a letter of introduction to Bishop John Hennessy of Dubuque. On Friday, August 20, 1870, the entire community, 30 in number, assembled for the last time in the chapel of this house of Bethlehem and then started on their long journey to their new home across the sea. On September 5 they set foot on American soil.

This is a brief account of the rise of a Catholic sisterhood that has done so much good in the State of Iowa. The sixteen chapters describing the various stages of this development are full of interest. The literary execution of the work is excellent. The author of the book, Sister Mary Cortona Gloden, did not live to see the publication of what must be regarded a monument to her beloved sisterhood, as also to her own name and fame. The firm of B. Herder Book Co. has done its best to make the work acceptable to all lovers of good literature.

JOHN E. ROTHENSTEINER

The Cross in the Wilderness: A Biography of Pioneer Ohio. By Sister Monica, O. S. U., Ph. D., Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1930, pp. XII+290. $3.50.

No common-place man or woman ever founded a religious community. If such a person ever had the thought, the first month of endeavor would wipe the desire from mind. Only he, or she, strong of heart, clear of head, and firm of will, and in whom burned the divine unrest, ever succeeded.

Why then the written story of a religious foundation should be so consistently dull will continue to be another of life's ironies. There is not another organization, unless it be the home, which presents the same gamut of joys and sorrows. The step from the sublime to the ridiculous is no where else as constantly present. The fault lies not in the story, but in the teller of the tale.

In southern Ohio, not far from Cincinnati, and not many miles from the Ohio River, is a community of Ursuline nuns. Locally, and to their friends in distant places, they are known as "the Brown County Ursulines." Numerically it has never been a large community, and its sphere of influence has been consequently circumscribed. For all that, it has a story and when the long day is finished its work will bear the "imprimatur" of the recording angel.

One of these nuns, anonymous to the world as Sister Monica, has told the story of this Brown County foundation. It had its beginning in Victorian England in the twenties of the last century. Thence it moved to France, and after a time, across the Atlantic, and out to the land about Solomon's Run in the Ohio country.

Other foundations have had more adventurous beginnings, greater hardships, even the glorious privilege of having been watered with the blood of martyrdom, but few others have had a Sister Monica to tell their story.

In words which run as swift, as smooth, as clear, as never ran the waters of Solomon's Run she has told the story of Julia Chatfield, the English girl who came to Ohio by way of France and established a house of Ursuline nuns.

This was in the forties when John Baptist Purcell was in his prime; known, loved, and respected in Europe as in America. In the old seminary in Brown County beyond Cincinnati he settled this strange little community, eight of whose eleven members were Frenchwomen. Many were the plans which were discussed and came to naught, and here it was the will of God they were to remain and carry on their work.

Sister Monica has told all this and more. She has, with understanding and charm, pictured pioneer life as it was lived in southern Ohio in the first half of the last century. Standing with her beneath "the Cross in the Wilderness," we see them pass down the road and into the twilight,—Purcell, Lamy, Machebeuf, Rosecrans, Spalding, Badin, and those others who are now but names; Julia Chatfield and the other ten; the daughters of the North and of the South; those who traveled the "underground railway" and those who pursued them; even Morgan and his hard riding men of the South. If Sister Monica has not made them live again for us, she has deftly lifted us back to their day.

William L. Reenan, A. B.

Cote Sans Dessein: A History. By Ovid Bell, Fulton, Mo., published by the Author, 1930, pp. 98. $2.00.

In this small book are preserved the records and traditions of one of the early out-posts of American national development. To have put these historical facts into a permanent form by a careful study of widely scattered sources and while it was still possible to incorporate the memoirs of some of the old settlers of the place is a work for which the author deserves great credit. His subject, too, is worthy of the effort expended in preserving its history. Cote sans Dessein was for two years "Farthest West" in the United States (p. 9) and in 1821 was considered favorably for the permanent seat of government of Missouri (pp. 58-78).

The method followed in this study has been to consider first the settlement and the names of the first settlers after which an interesting picture of the Indian attack in 1815 is presented. The question of Land Titles and the location of the State Capital are treated in the last two chapters of the book. Appendix A gives the reader the original grant of Delassus to Duchoquette of the land where the town stood. Four other short appendices embody contemporary accounts of the battle with the Indians. There is a good index.

In speaking of some discrepancies which he has found in the sources consulted the author, so he says, feels that "the general picture, as obtained from all the authorities, is sufficient for all necessary purposes" (p. 16, note 21). By including "all the authorities" he could find, one feels that more has been done than to simply give a "general picture" and that we have in *Cote sans Dessein* a repository of data which will aid any student of this part of our western frontier.

RAPHAEL N. HAMILTON, S. J., A. M.

The Coming Age and The Catholic Church. By William Barry, D. D., Hon. Canon of St. Chad's, Birmingham; Protonotary Apostolic; Author of "Roma Sacra," etc.; sometime Oscott Professor of Theology, Rome. New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1930, pp. 224. $2.50.

Canon Barry was at Rome as a student on September 20, 1870, and witnessed the surrender of the Papal City to the Italian forces. He says of that event that it "was the climacteric year which ushered in the twentieth century without waiting for the Kalendar." Since then the Church has seen the fall of more dynasties than has ever been known before in so short a period. The new democratic era is the Church's golden opportunity. The Eastern Orthodox Church is without a head, the Sultans have gone for ever, the castes of India are breaking down under pressure of Western ideas, the way is open everywhere for missionary enterprise. In the English-speaking world a fortunate series of events, the scattering of the Irish, the victory of Milner over the old English Catholics, the selfdestruction brought about by the suicidal methods of birth control, have all helped to increase the influence of Catholicism and to pave the way for the future. The machinery is there in pilgrimages, Eucharistic Congresses, the Catholic Truth Society, Rescue Homes, Orphanages, and Charitable Institutions.

A "second Spring" has just been heralded by the Golden Jubilee of Piux XI and the reconciliation of the Pope and Italy. The Canon asks for volunteers. "We are debtors to all men, to East and West, to the Negroes of Darkest Africa, to India, China, Japan. The hour long delayed is here. Arise and let us go forth."

HERBERT H. COULSON, A. M.

The Catholic Periodical Index: A Catholic Magazine Index. (Volume I, March, 1930, Number I.) Edited by Francis E. Fitzgerald, Chairman, Library Section, National Catholic Educational Association, Librarian, St. Thomas College, Scranton, Pennsylvania, assisted by Marion Barrows, (The Catholic Periodical Index), and Sister Mary Reparata, Librarian, Rosary College, River Forest, Illinois. Library Section, National Catholic Educational Association, Scranton, Pennsylvania, 1930.

A movement starting many years back for the publication of a guide to current Catholic periodical literature reaches its happy culmination in the appearance of this skillfully prepared index, which in technical make-up leaves nothing to be desired, being issued by the leading American firm in the field of magazine indexing, the H. H. Wilson Company of New York. Readers of MID-AMERICA will be pleased to know that this magazine is among the thirty-six Catholic periodicals indexed.

"This new guide will appear quarterly in March, June, and September and will cumulate material annually in the December quarterly number. The contents of thirty-six Catholic periodicals of reference value are included in this issue; six others are in preparation for the June issue. More will be added as facilities permit including periodicals in the leading continental languages. The *Catholic Periodical Index* is an author and subject index in one alphabet, similar to other types of magazine indexes. This indexing service is now available for the first time after many years of planning by leading Catholic librarians, and should be of value to the libraries of schools, colleges, and universities, as well as public libraries.

The *Catholic Periodical Index* opens up a new field of study to students and research workers. Through its use the reader is enabled to locate readily material on a given subject or author and learn the exact place where the material can be found. It serves as a *key* to the contents of the periodicals included therefore. This service will be particularly valuable to writers and speakers as well as reference librarians.

In issuing the *Catholic Periodical Index,* the Library Section of the National Catholic Educational Association wishes to bring its services within the reach of even the smallest school library. The price has been arranged on a sliding scale, or *service-basis,* by which large libraries receiving more of the periodicals indexed pay more than the smaller libraries with fewer periodicals."

St. Peter's Parish, Keokuk, Iowa, 1832-1929. By C. F. Griffith, Saint Ambrose College [Davenport, Iowa]. (The Iowa Catholic Historical Society Collections, Number Two, pp. 80.)

This excellent parish history embodies as its introductory section the article "Catholic Beginnings in Southeastern Iowa" contributed by Father Griffith to the April, 1930, issue of MID-AMERICA. The booklet is illustrated and the parish story brought up to date and rounded off with an imposing list of priests and nuns furnished by St. Peter's to the service of the Church. The narrative is not concerned merely with a single parish; it covers the beginning of the Church in Keokuk and indeed in all of southeastern Iowa. Nor is the narrative a mere compilation from printed sources. The author has been busy with first-hand research and has apparently utilized all the available manuscript material on his subject, the result being the bringing to light of important and hitherto unpublished data on the history of the Church in the West. Thus he has made it clear that Father Van Quickenborne was the first Catholic priest in the nineteenth century known to have ministered to the Catholics of Iowa. To Father Griffith as to his colleague in the new Catholic historical movement in Iowa, Father Hoffman of Dubuque, one confidently looks forward to the eventual telling, on a scale worthy of the subject, of the history of the Catholic Church in that great commonwealth.

G. J. G.

The Romantic Story of Schoenbrunn, the First Town in Ohio. By Rev. Joseph E. Weinland, President of the Tuscarawas County Historical Association, Dover, Ohio, 1929, pp. 31, ill.

This is a highly interesting account of the eighteenth century work of the pioneer Moravian missionaries in the Valley of the

Muskingum. Under the leadership of the Rev. David Zeisberger a town, Schoenbrunn by name, was laid out as early as 1772 by Moravian immigrants on a spot on the Muskingum now within the limits of Tuscarawas County, Ohio. This, it is claimed, is the oldest known town in Ohio, the church, built in 1773, being "in all probability the first Protestant church in the United States west of the Ohio River" (p. 13), while the schoolhouse, also built in 1773, was, it would appear, "the first schoolhouse in the entire Northwest Territory." A second town Gnadenhutten, also on the Muskingum, was built in 1772 and here, on March 8, 1782, ninety Christian Indians, converts of the missionaries, were massacred in cold blood by a party of Americans under Colonel Williamson. Attempts have been made to excuse the atrocious deed but without avail. It remains the greatest black spot on Ohio history, having stirred the indignation of historians, especially Theodore Roosevelt, who wrote that "even now a just man's blood boils in his veins at its remembrance." The site of Schoenbrunn, lost for 146 years, has been recently discovered, the town with church, school, and other buildings restored in replica, and the place acquired by the State to be preserved as Schoenbrunn Memorial Park.

G. J. G.

Pierre Menard, Pioneer. By Sarah Bond Hanley. Reprinted from the Illinois Blue Book, Springfield, Illinois, 1928, pp. 8.

Introduced by Sarah Bond Hanley, the author of this sketch, a bill passed the fifty-fifth assembly of Illinois providing for the acquisition by the State of the Pierre Menard home and some of its furnishings. This historic mansion, dating from 1802, stands on the east side of the Kaskaskia River at the foot of the bluffs and across from the one-time site of old Kaskaskia, most famous of the pioneer settlements of Illinois, and now buried beneath the waters of the Mississippi. It is not merely because the Menard mansion is almost the only surviving example of French domestic architecture of the French period of Illinois history that the commonwealth has been at pains to acquire it; the measure is to be interpreted especially as a determination to preserve the memory of the original owner of the mansion, a distinguished citizen of Illinois in the pioneer days, its first Lieutenant-Governor and the recipient, besides, of an imposing series of honorable public offices civil, military, and judicial.

No name in the opening days of Illinois statehood stood higher than that of Pierre Menard. His Canadian origin probably debarred him from the Governorship; but the framers of the Illinois Constitution actually inserted a clause with the direct intention of overcoming certain limitations Pierre Menard was under as to the period of his naturalization and thus make it possible for him to become Lieutenant-Governor.

This distinguished Catholic layman and citizen, who had surely in the old Roman phrase "deserved well of the commonwealth," lies, we are told by the author of this sketch, in an unmarked grave, "without even so much as a wooden cross to designate the sacred spot nor a Prairie Rose to save it from the noisome weeds."

G. J. G.

Life in Old Vincennes. By Lee Burns, Indiana Historical Society Publications, Volume 8, Number 9, Indianapolis, 1929, pp. 23.

This is an interesting attempt to reconstruct the life that ebbed and flowed in Indiana's most historic town in the decades immediately following the American occupation by George Rogers Clark. The manners and customs of the French habitants, the ways of the early American residents, the log-houses "with a central hall running through from front to rear and a piazza that in many cases ran entirely around the building," taverns, printing presses, pioneer attempts at organized education, early elections and laws, a circulating library of 248 volumes installed as early as 1809 in the famous Harrison mansion—these are among the topics one finds touched on in this carefully prepared study. Footnotes to the number of sixty-one indicate the extent of the author's researches, which, while not utilizing manuscript material, have taken account of the bulk if not all of extant printed contemporary sources on the subject.

In view of recent discussions among historians as to the real significance of Clark's so-called conquest of the Northwest the author would appear to be a whit dogmatic when he writes in the opening sentence of the sketch: "As a result of the brilliant campaign of George Rogers Clark and his little army of less than 150 men the territory Northwest of this river was given to the United States by the treaty of peace that ended the War of the Revolution."

G. J. G.

History of the Parish of St. John the Baptist, Somonauk, Illinois, 1929, pp. 63.

Somonauk in DeKalk County, Illinois, in the pleasant bosom of the Fox River Valley is a town of venerable age as ages go in the none too ancient region of the Middle West. The first settlers came in the mid-decades of the past century, data about these pioneer families filling several pages of this interesting booklet. Family history and genealogical details often have an interest that is more than local, for it is from just such details that the larger story of Catholic diocesan growth in the United States must often borrow actuality and color. The first parish organization of Somonauk was effected in 1863, which was twenty-five years after the arrival of the first Catholic settlers in the neighborhood. In 1865 the first non-resident pastor, Rev. Dominic Niederkorn, S. J., began to visit Somonauk from Chicago once a month, the church records with entries over his name all beginning in that year. Father Niederkorn and after him other Jesuits from Chicago were in charge of the parish until the arrival in 1869 of Rev. Caspar J. Huth, the first resident pastor. The present pastor of Somonauk is the Rev. C. J. Kirkfleet of the Order of Premonstratensians, who in this booklet has put the parish story interestingly on record.

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M. Georges Rigault has collaborated with M. Georges Goyau of the French Academy in editing a volume of studies and documentary sources on the "Martyrs of New France," from which the article in the present issue is reproduced.

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FATHER GABRIEL DE LA RIBOURDE, O. F. M.

The First Martyr in Illinois

I

On September 19, 1930, it was exactly two hundred and fifty years that Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, O. F. M., was murdered by a band of Kickapoo Indians on the wooded banks of the Illinois river at what is now Seneca, between Ottawa and Morris, Illinois. Though he was the first to give his life in God's service on Illinois soil,[1] his story has not been told before and Illinois has not erected a single memorial in his honor to the present day.

---

[1] A Latin list of missionaries in Illinois and along the Mississippi, composed by Msgr. Noiseux, Grand Vicaire of Quebec (a copy of which is preserved in the Chancery Office at St. Louis, Mo.) begins with the name of Father Jean Dequerre, S. J. According to Msgr. Noiseux, Father Dequerre came to the Illinois country as early as 1653 and established a mission near Peoria; going in 1660 to visit a tribe west of the Illinois river, he was killed by the savages in 1661. Though there have been some who defended the authenticity of this list, Shea rejects it altogether. (F. G. Holweck in *Catholic Historical Review,* Vol. VI, p. 514.)

In the same manner, therefore, that we call Father Marquette the first missionary in Illinois (1673 and 1675), we may rightly style Father Ribourde the first martyr of Illinois—taking the term martyr in a wide sense.

To speak of Jolliet and Marquette as the first white men in Illinois, however, is a different matter. There is hardly any doubt that French traders and trappers preceded Jolliet and Marquette in Illinois. The account of the latter's journey "seems to indicate that French traders were accustomed to visit the locality of Chicago before Marquette's arrival." (G. J. Garraghan, S. J., *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* Vol. IV, p. 357.) The *Jesuit Relations* "refer to trappers and traders going among the tribes in advance of the missionaries. At a very early date the number of these trappers and traders, who made their rendezvous at Michilimackinac was 1,000. If there were but a fourth of this number there in 1673, it would be almost certain that not only Illinois but Chicago would be visited by some of their parties. But these men left no written record of their travels." (L. J. Kenny, S. J., *ibid.,* p. 358.) To mention one in particular, it is probable that Nicholas Perrot, the fur trader, was at Chicago before Jolliet and Marquette.

When we say that the story of Father Ribourde has not been told before, we mean in the English language. There is a French sketch of his life, *Le Père Gabriel de la Ribourde,* by P. Odoric-M. Jouve.

By putting together in one narrative what we know about his life and death, we hope in some measure to honor his memory and to commemorate the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his death.

The best and most reliable account we have of Father Ribourde's death is that of his fellow missionary, Father Zenobius Membré, O. F. M. These two missionaries with Henry de Tonti and three Frenchmen were the only members of La Salle's party of thirty-three men who remained in the Illinois country after Fort Crèvecoeur, near present Peoria, had been destroyed in the middle of March, 1680. For the following six months they dwelt among the Illinois Indians of the Great Village, on the site of present Utica. In early September the Iroquois came from the east and made war upon these Indians. Not wishing to kill the white men who were living with the Illinois, they compelled them to depart. Here Father Membré's account begins:

> "The Rev. Father Gabriel, the sieur de Tonty, the few French who were with us and myself began our march on the 18th of September without provisions, food or anything, in a wretched bark canoe, which, breaking the next day, compelled us about noon to repair it. Father Gabriel, seeing the place of our landing fit for walking in the prairies and hills with little groves, as if planted by hand, retired there to say his breviary, while we were working at the canoe all the rest of the day. We were full eight leagues [about twenty miles] from the village ascending the river.
>
> "Toward evening I went to look for the Father, seeing that he did not return. All our party did the same. We fired repeatedly to direct him, but in vain. And as we had reason to fear the Iroquois during the night, we crossed to the other side of the river and lit up fires which were also useless.
>
> "The next morning at daybreak, we returned to the same side where we were the day before, and remained till noon, making all possible search. We entered the woods, where we found several fresh trails, as well as in the prairie on the bank of the river. We followed them one by one without discovering anything, except that M. de Tonty had ground to believe and fear that some hostile parties were in ambush to cut us all off; for, seeing us take flight, the savages had imagined that we declared for the Illinois.
>
> "I insisted on staying to wait for positive tidings; but the sieur de Tonty forced me to embark at three o'clock, maintaining that the Father had been killed by the enemy, or else had walked on along the bank, so that, following it constantly, we should at last infallibly meet him. We got, however, no tidings of him; and the more we advanced, the more this affliction unmanned us. And we supported this remnant of a languishing life by the potatoes and garlick and other roots that we found by scraping the ground with our fingers.
>
> "We afterward learned that we should have expected him uselessly,

as he had been killed soon after landing. The Kickapoos, a little nation you may observe on the west, quite near the Winnebagoes, had sent some of their youth in war parties against the Iroquois; but, learning that the latter were attacking the Illinois, the war party came after them. Three braves who formed a kind of advance guard, having met the good Father alone, although they knew that he was not an Iroquois, killed him for all that, cast his body into a hole and carried off even his breviary and diurnal, which soon after came into the hands of a Jesuit Father. They carried off the scalp of this holy man and vaunted of it in their village as an Iroquois scalp.

"Thus died this man of God by the hands of some mad youths. We can say of his body what the Scripture remarks of those whom the sanguinary Herod immolated to his fury: 'Non erat qui sepeliret'—'There was no one to bury him.' Surely he deserved a better fate, if indeed we can desire a happier one before God, than to die in the exercise of the apostolic functions by the hands of nations to whom we are sent by God.

"He had not been merely a religious of common and ordinary virtue; it is well known that he had in Canada, from 1670, maintained the same sanctity of life which he had shown in France as superior, inferior and master of novices. He had for a long time in transports of fervor acknowledged to me the profound grief which he felt at the utter blindness of these people, and that he longed to be an anathema for their salvation. His death, I doubt not, has been precious before God, and will one day have its effect in the vocation of these people to the Faith, when it shall please the Almighty to use his great mercy."[2]

Of Father Ribourde's early life we know nothing but what we find in the writings of Father Hennepin, and that is little enough.[3] Father Ribourde was born in France in 1615, the same year in which Champlain introduced the Franciscan Recollects, one of the stricter branches within the Franciscan order, into New France as the first missionaries along the banks of the St. Lawrence. In 1624 the Franciscans invited the Jesuits to come to their aid; and in 1629 the English expelled both orders from Canada. Among the Abnaki Indians in Nova Scotia or Acadia, however, the Franciscans continued to labor as missionaries till 1633. Meanwhile, in 1632, the Jesuits had returned to Canada. The Franciscans were not permitted to come back to their former field of labor till 1670.

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[2] Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley,* p. 161-163. Father Membré's account of Father Ribourde's death constitutes the second part of his little narrative on La Salle's first expedition. The first part, describing his and Father Ribourde's missionary work among the Illinois Indians of the Great Village, has been printed in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* Vol. X, p. 380-382. Membré's narrative was inserted by Father Christian Le Clercq, O. F. M., in his *Établissement de la Foy,* of which there is a translation, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France,* by Shea.

[3] The only sources we have on Father Ribourde, besides Membré's little narrative, are the writings of Hennepin and the narratives of La Salle and Tonti. Of these, Hennepin's works are the principal source. His first book, *Description de la Louisiane,* was published at Paris in 1683, three years after La Salle's expedition into the Illinois country. There is a translation, *Description of Louisiana,* by Shea. In 1697 there was printed at Utrecht, Hennepin's *Nouvelle Découverte d'un très grand Pays, situe dans l'Amérique* and in 1698 at the same city his *Nouveau Voyage d'un Pais plus grand que l'Europe.* What is practically a translation of these two works appeared the next year in England in two parts with the caption: *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America.* Thwaites has edited the latter in two volumes. It is of particular value to us because it contains some very interesting facts about Father Ribourde. Although Hennepin's works are not always reliable, it is not difficult to distinguish the true from the false in his writings; and when he speaks exclusively of Father Ribourde, he is undoubtedly telling the truth. Most historians

Hennepin says of Father Ribourde that he was "the only male child and heir of his father's house, who was a gentleman of Burgundy" and that he "had left a very good estate, being heir of a noble family of the province of Burgundy." Renouncing both title and wealth, he joined the Franciscan Recollects and soon acquired the fame of an extraordinary holiness of life. For some time he held the office of novice-master and also that of superior. Among those he instructed in the religious life was his later companion in America, Father Louis Hennepin. The latter says: "That good man had been my master during my novitiate in our convent of Bethune, in the province of Artois; and, therefore, I had so great a respect for him that I yielded to his advice . . . I must own that his example revived my courage upon several occasions." [4]

When the Franciscan Recollects were notified in 1670 that they could return to New France, Father Ribourde, although already fifty-five years of age, at once offered to go to the new mission. In May, 1670, he left Rochelle, France, in the company of his Father Provincial, the Very Rev. Germain Allart. With

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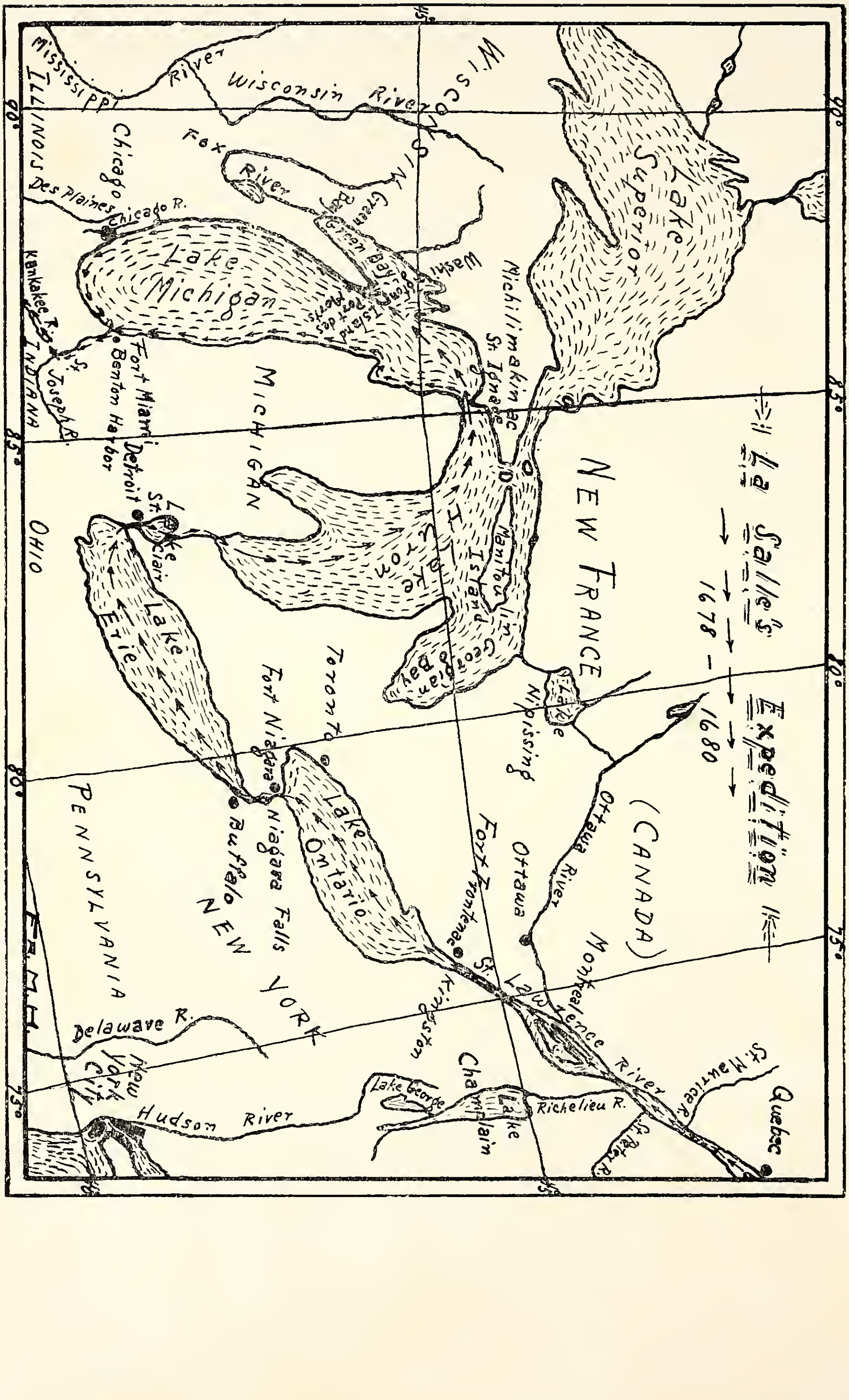
have discredited especially his later books; but Thwaites says of *A New Discovery*: "In some respects it is the most satisfactory of Hennepin's books." And elsewhere: "When all is said, we must acknowledge Hennepin's works to be invaluable contributions to the sources of American history; they deserve study, and to this day furnish rare entertainment. We can pardon much in our erratic friar, when he leaves to us such monuments as these" (p. xlii).

From the French texts in Margry, Melville B. Anderson has made English translations of the narratives of La Salle and Tonti: *Relation of the Discoveries and Voyages of Cavalier de La Salle from 1679 to 1681, Official Narrative* and *Relation of Henri de Tonty*. The former is probably a compilation by a person other than La Salle who made use of La Salle's letters; while the latter is, as Thwaites says, an apochryphal account. Both contain some references to Father Ribourde.

[4] *A New Discovery,* p. 174 f. This part is printed in *Ill. Cath. Hist. Review,* Vol. X, p. 127.


La Salle's Expedition 1678 – 1680

Mississippi River
Wisconsin River
Wisconsin
Illinois
Chicago
Fox River
Green Bay
Des Plaines
Chicago R.
Lake Michigan
Washington Island
Port des Morts
Kankakee R.
Indiana
St. Joseph R.
Fort Miami
Benton Harbor
Michigan
Michillimakinac
St. Ignace
Lake Superior
New France
Lake Huron
Manitoulin Island
Georgian Bay
Detroit
Lake St. Clair
Lake Erie
Ohio
Toronto
Fort Niagara
Lake Nipissing
(Canada)
Ottawa River
Ottawa
Lake Ontario
Niagara Falls
Buffalo
New York
Pennsylvania
Fort Frontenac
Kingston
St. Lawrence River
Montreal
St. Maurice R.
Quebec
St. Peter R.
Lake Champlain
Richelieu R.
Lake George
Hudson River
Delaware R.
New York City
45°
90°
85°
80°
75°

them were two other Fathers, a deacon and a lay brother. Returning to France shortly after, the Father Provincial appointed Father Ribourde his commissary and the first superior of the new mission. He held this office for one term, lasting three years. During this time he resided in Quebec and was also confessor to Governor Frontenac.[5] "He restored such missions," writes Shea, "as circumstances enabled him to begin, and guided his little flock with such moderation and skill in the troublous times on which he had fallen that he acquired the veneration and respect of all parties." [6] At the close of his term of office, he witnessed the consecration of a Franciscan church at Quebec. He was succeed in 1673 by Father Eustace Maupassant.[7]

The preceding year (1672) Governor Frontenac had personally visited Cataroqui, now Kingston, Ontario, where the St. Lawrence river widens into Lake Ontario. There he had a palisaded fort erected to facilitate the purchase of furs. It was named Fort Frontenac; and Robert Cavalier de la Salle, who was soon to become "the prince of French explorers," was appointed its commandant. Father Ribourde was appointed first missionary of this post, remaining for two years (1673-1675). La Salle learned to love and revere Father Ribourde at the fort; and soon they became fast friends.

The year in which Father Ribourde came to Fort Frontenac was the memorable one in which Jolliet and Father Marquette, S. J., sailed down the Mississippi, exploring it as far as the mouth of its tributary, the Arkansas. La Salle now had but one great aim in life, and that was to explore the Mississippi to its mouth and to claim its vast valley for France. In the interest of his great plans La Salle made two journeys to France. On the first visit he sought the approval of his sovereign, Louis XIV, for the proposed undertaking. Not only was he authorized to proceed with the expedition; but he was also made an untitled nobleman and given the seigniory of Fort Frontenac. In September, 1675, he was back in Quebec. With him had come Bishop Laval of Quebec and a second band of five Franciscans, among them Fathers Zenobius Membré and Louis Hennepin. The latter, with his confrère Father Luke Buisset, was shortly after sent to Fort Frontenac, though at least nominally he held the post of preacher in Advent and Lent at the cloister of St. Augustine in the Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec. Father Ribourde, it seems, then returned to Quebec, coming back to Fort Frontenac in 1678.

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[5] *First Establishment of the Faith,* Vol. II, p. 71 and 73.

[6] *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley,* p. 163, note.

[7] *First Establishment of the Faith,* Vol. II, p. 86.

Meanwhile, in November, 1677, La Salle had set out for France a second time in the interest of his great enterprise. On July 14, 1678, he again left Rochelle, this time with Henry de Tonti,[8] the son of a Neapolitan banker, who was to be his chief aid. They arrived in Quebec in September, 1678. Thus were brought together the intrepid men who were to take so prominent a part in the famous expedition of La Salle.

The first missionary who was appointed to accompany La Salle's expedition was Father Hennepin. When La Salle returned from France in September, 1678, Father Hennepin was called from Frontenac to Quebec and apprised of his appointment; and, after being entertained at dinner by Governor Frontenac, he was sent ahead to Fort Frontenac. He arrived there about eleven o'clock at night "where our Recollect Fathers, Gabriel de la Ribourde and Luke Buisset, missionaries, received me with all expressions of joy into our house of mission, which we had caused to be built the year before, upon the brink of the Lake Ontario, near to Fort Frontenac." [9]

II

La Salle's plan was to occupy the country through which he would pass by building forts at strategic points. The first of this chain of forts was to be built at the Falls of Conty, now Niagara Falls. In November, 1678 (November 18 to December 6) La Motte de Lusière, one of La Salle's lieutenants, together with Father Hennepin and sixteen men, sailed over the waters of Lake Ontario to the Falls in a brigantine of ten tons. Going ahead of his party, Hennepin was the first white man to view the Falls. Late in December La Salle, with about the same number of men, followed in "a great barque." The ship in which La Salle had come was lost off shore in a storm; and in February, 1679, La Salle returned to Fort Frontenac to fetch additional supplies. Father Hennepin also went back to Fort Frontenac in the spring of 1679. "I was kindly received," he says, "by four missionaries of my own order that I found there, namely Fathers Gabriel de la Ribourde, Luke Buisset, Zenobius Membré and Melithon Watteaux, all natives of the Spanish Netherlands."[10]

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[8] Being an Italian, "Tonti" seems to be the correct spelling of his name; "Tonty" is no doubt a French form.

[9] *A New Discovery,* p. 72.

Some time later, Very Rev. Valentine le Roux, their commissary and superior, came personally from Quebec to Fort Frontenac; for he had received express orders from the French king to appoint several of his friars as chaplains of La Salle's expedition. Father Hennepin had already been appointed; but he was to have two companions. Impelled by an extraordinary zeal for souls, Father Ribourde disregarded his age and infirmity, and offered to go along. Le Clercq writes of the Father Commissary, that he came "to regulate what regarded his ministry and put in force the orders and obediences which he had expedited in the month of July, by which Father Gabriel was named superior of this new expedition, to be accompanied by Father Louis Henpin, Zenobius Membré and Melithon Vatteaux; that Father Melithon was to remain at Niagara and make it his mission, while Father Luke should remain in the mission at the fort." [11]

The missionaries and La Salle arrived at Niagara Falls by the end of July, 1679. In the meantime La Salle's men had built a stockade at the outlet of Niagara river, which was named Fort Niagara; and at the mouth of Cayuga Creek, above the Falls, they had built a ship, the first sailing vessel on the upper Great Lakes. It was called the *Griffon* in honor of Governor Frontenac's arms. With La Salle and Hennepin, Father Ribourde, in spite of his age, toiled up the rocky path which served as a portage around the Falls, and visited these Falls, admiring the wondrous sight, of which Hennepin has given us the first detailed description.

Leaving Father Melithon Watteaux at the warehouse above the Falls (Fort Niagara), from which station he was to minister to the neighboring Senecas, Father Ribourde and his two confrères embarked with La Salle's party on the *Griffon,* August 7, 1678. They had a pleasant voyage through Lake Erie, the strait of Detroit and Lake St. Clair. But on Lake Huron they encountered a violent storm. In the straits of Michilimakinac, off Point St. Ignace, they cast anchor and were welcomed by the Jesuit Fathers who had a mission center here. After a week's rest, the *Griffon* sailed to Washington Island, off the mouth of Green Bay. There it was loaded with precious furs and sent back to Niagara on September 18, 1679. It was to return to the southern end of Lake Michigan with new supplies. But La Salle did not see the *Griffon* again; it was lost in a storm between Green Bay and Makinac.[12]

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[10] *Ibid.,* p. 98. Father Ribourde was a native of France, not of the Spanish Netherlands.

[11] *First Establishment of the Faith,* Vol. II, p. 112.

While Tonti and twenty men had remained at Makinac, La Salle and fourteen men had sailed to Green Bay on the *Griffon.* Father Membré, as it seems, stayed with Tonti. While at Green Bay Fathers Ribourde and Hennepin were no doubt guests of the Jesuit Fathers at St. Francis Xavier Mission. After the departure of the *Griffon,* La Salle and his party sailed in five canoes down the Wisconsin side of the lake, while Tonti followed the Michigan shore from St. Ignace.

During this voyage both parties endured great hardships. Especially Father Ribourde, who was already sixty-four years old, suffered much on the way. Food was scarce and the weather stormy. On one occasion they had to leap from their canoes into the water and carry them on land; otherwise they would have been dashed to pieces against the rocks of the shore. Father Hennepin took Father Ribourde on his shoulders and carried him on dry land. He narrates the incident in the following words:

> "We set out the first of October, and after making twelve leagues fasting, arrived near another village of the Potawatamis. (The bank was high and steep, and exposed to the northeast, which was then blowing and increased to such a degree that the waves broke in an extraordinary manner.)[13] These Indians all flocked to the lake shore to receive us and to haul us in from the waves which rose to an extraordinary height. The Sieur de la Salle, fearing that his men would desert, and that some of them would carelessly waste some of his goods, pushed on; and we were obliged

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[12] Thwaites, Introduction to *A New Discovery,* which is a sketch of Hennepin's life. However, for a long time the wreckage of a ship, known as "La Salle's ship," has been lying at Mississagi strait on Manitoulin island in Lake Huron. An official Canadian expedition has recently investigated it, and with good reason has come to the conclusion that it is the *Griffon.*

[13] Found only in Margry.

> to follow him three leagues beyond the village of the Indians, notwithstanding the evident peril. And he saw no other alternative to take in order to land in safety, than to leap into the water with his three canoemen, and all together take hold of the canoe and its load and drag it ashore, in spite of the waves which sometimes covered them over their heads.
>
> "He then came to meet the canoe, which I guided with this man who had no experience in this work, and jumping waist high into the water, we carried our little craft all at once, and went to receive the other two canoes in the same manner as the former. And as the waves breaking on the shore formed a kind of undertow, which drags out into the lake those who think they are safe, I made a powerful effort and took on my shoulders our good old Recollect who accompanied us. And this amiable missionary of Saint Francis, seeing himself out of danger, all drenched as he was with water, never failed to display an extraordinary cheerfulness."[14]

Because of the lack of sufficient nourishment as well as the fatigue which was the inevitable result of rowing all day long in a small canoe on the rough waters of the lake, Father Ribourde had fainting spells on several occasions. Twice Father Hennepin restored him to his senses by giving him some medicine he had brought along and "preserved preciously." [15] Once he thought his superior would surely succumb. He writes:

> "The water being very cold, most of us were sick, and our provisions failed us again; which together with the fatigues of rowing, caused old Father Gabriel to faint away in such a manner, that I verily thought he could not live; however, I brought him again to his senses by means of some confection of hyacinth, which I found very useful in our voyage. We had no other subsistence but a handful of Indian corn once every four and twenty hours, which we roasted or else boiled in water. And yet we rowed almost every day from morning till night."[16]

On October 29, they spent some time on the lake shore, and Father Hennepin tells us that he and Father Ribourde gathered some grapes on a hill in the neighborhood.[17]

Passing the site of the city of Chicago and skirting the southern extremity of the lake, they arrived at the mouth of the St. Joseph river, where Benton Harbor and St. Joseph, Michigan, are now situated. While waiting for Tonti and the rest of the men to arrive, La Salle commenced the building of his second fort, Fort St. Joseph or Fort Miami. Fathers Ribourde and Hennepin built a small chapel, "a bark cabin," where they celebrated holy Mass and conducted divine services for the men, taking turns in preaching to them after Vespers on Sundays and holidays.[18] Father Hennepin writes:

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[14] *A Description of Louisiana,* p. 111-12.

[15] *Ibid.,* p. 116.

[16] *A New Discovery,* p. 128. The hyacinth or jacinth contained in Hennepin's medicine, explains Thwaites in a note, is found in many old formulas. It is a precious stone, the silicate of zircon, and was formerly thought to possess medicinal qualities.

[17] *A Description of Louisiana,* p. 122.

> "We had made a cabin, wherein we performed divine service every Sunday, and Father Gabriel and I, who preached alternatively, took care to take such texts as were suitable to our present circumstances, and fit to inspire us with courage, concord and brotherly love. Our exhortations produced a very good effect, and hindered our men from deserting, as they designed."[19]

Finally, on November 20, Tonti, whose progress had been impeded by stormy weather, arrived with two canoes, laden with stags and deer. Other members of the party were still on the way, something which displeased La Salle very much, since he feared that some would desert. In fact, six men did desert at Fort Miami, and Tonti was sent in search of them.

III

Leaving four men in charge of Fort Miami, the reunited party, numbering thirty-three men in eight canoes, continued their expedition on the feast of St. Francis Xavier, December 3. They ascended the St. Joseph river as far as the site of South Bend, Indiana. While looking for the portage to the Kankakee river, La Salle was separated from his party. Father Hennepin went to look for him and finally found him. Father Ribourde aided in the search by marking the trees at the portage with crosses. Hennepin writes: "We rejoined our party the next day, at the portage where Father Gabriel had made several crosses on the trees, that we might recognize it."[20] "Father Gabriel and I begged the Sieur de la Salle not to leave his party as he had done, showing him that the whole success of our voyage depended on his presence."[21] How true this was we shall see presently.

Led by a Mohican Indian who was in the party, the pioneer travelers carried their canoes and baggage five miles over a marshy plain to the source of the Kankakee river. They could now continue their journey by water, sailing the entire length of the Kankakee and then down the Illinois; for, at the point where the Kankakee joins the Des Plaines, it forms the Illinois river.

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[18] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

[10] *A New Discovery*, p. 139.

[20] *A Description of Louisiana*, p. 140.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

All during December they continued to paddle their way upon these rivers, enduring great hardships as they went along. "Most of the men," says Father Hennepin, "were so weary of this laborious life, that they would have run away if possible, and gone to the savages, who were not very far from us, as we judged by the great fires we saw in the plain." [22]

On December 28, they arrived at the Great Village of the Illinois Indians, some 230 leagues or 575 miles from Fort Miami.[23] The Kaskaskia village, near present Ottawa, which had been visited by Father Marquette in 1673 and 1675 and by Father Claude Allouez, S. J., in 1677, as well as the other villages on the site of what is now Utica, opposite Starved Rock, which comprised the Great Village proper, were all lifeless, since the Indians were away on their customary hunting trips. After gathering their harvest of Indian corn, these Indians were wont to put the greater part of it into holes which they dug in the ground, and then go a hunting during the winter months, saving the corn for the following summer. "However, our necessity being very great," writes Father Hennepin, "and it being impossible to continue our voyage without any provisions . . . M. la Salle resolved to take about forty bushels of corn, in hopes to appease the savages with some presents." [24]

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[22] *A New Discovery,* p. 145 f. (*Ill. Cath. Hist. Review,* Vol. X, p. 9.)

[23] The Great Village was not a single village but consisted of several villages, each of them the home of a separate tribe of Indians, but all of them belonging to the Illinois nation. (Shea in *The First Establishment of the Faith,* p. 117, note.) The main group of villages, comprising the Great Village, was situated about two leagues east of the mouth of the Aramoni or Vermilion river, a tributary of the Illinois. Since the French league is equivalent to two and one-half miles, the Great Village proper must have occupied the site of what is now Utica, across the river from Starved Rock. In La Salle's "Official Narrative" we read that the Iroquois, who came from the east in September, 1680, encamped themselves on the banks of the Vermilion river "within two leagues of the Illinois village." And in his "Relation" Tonti says he crossed the river (the Illniois) when he returned from the Iroquois to the Great Village. The Kaskaskia village, says Shea, occupied a site somewhat apart from the rest, six (four?) leagues up the river and two leagues below the mouth of the Pestegonki or Fox river, another tributary of the Illinois,—at Twin Bluffs, the next town west of Ottawa. (The distance from Utica to Ottawa is only about six leagues; and if the Kaskaskia village was two leagues below the mouth of the Fox river, it must have been only four leagues distant from the Great Village proper.)

During the winter the various tribes of the Great Village separated and went in different directions on hunting trips; in spring they returned to their customary rendezvous, the Great Village. From Father Membré's narrative we learn that the Peoria Indians, who had a camp near present Peoria in January, 1680, went north to the Great Village in the spring of the same year.

All the villages comprising the Great Village, including the Kaskaskia village, says Shea, were destroyed by the Iroquois in September, 1680. When La Salle built Fort St. Louis on Starved Rock in December, 1682, the Illinois Indians again settled across from it at present Utica.

Sailing on for four days, the whole party went ashore for the celebration of New Year's Day, 1680. All three missionaries celebrated holy Mass, and took the occasion to exhort the men of the party to loyalty and perseverance. They had just discovered one of the deserters who had come back to seduce the rest.[25] Father Hennepin writes: "Having wished a happy New Year to M. la Salle, and to all others, I thought fit to make a pathetical exhortation to our grumblers, to encourage them to go on cheerfully and inspire them with union and concord. Father Gabriel and Zenobe and I embraced them afterwards and they promised us to continue firm in their duty." [26]

The same day, January 1, 1680, they entered Lake Peoria, which is formed by the widening of the Illinois river and which Hennepin describes as being "seven leagues long and one broad." Beyond the lake they doubled a point and suddenly found themselves in the midst of an Indian camp with wigwams on both banks of the river, numbering about eighty. It was the temporary village of the Peoria Indians, one of the Illinois tribes, which had been visited by Father Marquette in 1673. The Indians were exceedingly frightened at the sudden appearance of the French; but La Salle and the missionaries succeeded in gaining their confidence.

"Father Zenobe and I," writes Father Hennepin, "went to their cabins. We took their children by the hand, and expressed our love for them with all the signs we could. We did the like to the old men, having compassion of those poor creatures who are so miserable as to be ignorant of their Creator and Redeemer . . . (We) discoursed with the chiefs of the Illinois by our interpreter, and told them that we were inhabitants of Canada and their friends; that we were come to teach them the knowledge of the Captain of Heaven and earth, with several other things relating to their advantage."[27]

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[24] *A New Discovery,* p. 153 f. (*Ill. Cath. Hist. Review,* Vol. X, p. 10.)

[25] *A Description of Louisiana,* p. 155.

[26] *A New Discovery,* p. 153 f. (*Ill. Cath. Hist. Review,* Vol. X, p. 10).

Late in the day, however, a certain Monso, one of the chief captains of the Mascouten Indians, together with some Miamis and other Indian youths, arrived with gifts and did all in their power to persuade the Peoria Indians that La Salle and his men were enemies.[28] It took a great deal of tact on La Salle's part to dispel the doubts and distrust with which their minds had been filled. Nor did he succeed in regaining the full confidence of his Indian hosts. At a feast some days later, one of the prominent Illinois Indians made a speech in which he tried to dissuade La Salle from carrying out his plan of exploring the Mississippi to its mouth by greatly exaggerating the dangers of the way. Though La Salle recognized his words to be false, they had their intended effect on La Salle's men. Six of them were so frightened, that they ran away during the night. Among them were two carpenters, the men he needed most to built the ship in which he desired to sail down the Mississippi. And it was a difficult task for La Salle and the missionaries to keep the rest of the men from deserting. Later the Peoria Indians themselves admitted that their spokesman had not spoken the truth; and they excused themselves on the score that he had done so "because of the great desire they had to stop amongst them our captain and the greycoats or barefoot, as they called the Franciscans."[29]

About the middle of January mild weather set in and the ice in the river thawed rapidly. La Salle decided to build a fort some distance from the Indian camp. They found a suitable site half a league below the village; and there they began to build the third of La Salle's chain of forts, Fort Crèvecoeur, as well as a ship for the Mississippi voyage. On the first of March the fort was nearly completed and the ship was half built.

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[27] *Ibid.*

[28] La Salle had many enemies, not only among the English and the Indians, but also among his own countrymen, the French. The loss of "the great barque" in which he sailed to Niagara Falls and of the *Griffon* has been ascribed to treachery on the part of his own men, who had taken bribes. The appearance of Monso, the Mascouten chief, among the Peoria Indians on the very day that La Salle arrived in their camp, and the efforts of this liar to turn the Peorias against their white guests, were likewise due to the machinations of La Salle's white foes (French or English); Monso himself told the Peorias "that he was sent by some of the Europeans themselves." (*Ill. Cath. Hist. Review,* Vol. X, p. 11). The attack of the Iroquois on the Great Village in September, 1680, was instigated by Dutch and English traders. But La Salle also had a few faithful friends; and among them the most faithful were Tonti and the two Franciscan missionaries, Fathers Ribourde and Membré. "If the projects of La Salle," writes Shea, "had raised up against him pertinacious enemies, they nevertheless drew around him a few faithful and devoted friends, and none more conspicuous than the excellent missionary Father Membré." (*Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley,* p. 163.)

[29] *A New Discovery,* p. 174 f. (*Ill. Cath. Hist. Review,* Vol. X, p. 126.)

One of the first buildings in the fort was a little chapel, which the missionaries put up with the aid of the workmen.[30] Father Hennepin writes: "We made a hasty lodgment (on the elevation selected for the fort) to be ready to defend us in case the savages would obstruct the building of our fort; but nobody offering to disturb us, we went on diligently with our work. Fathers Gabriel, Zenobe and I made in the meantime a cabin of planks, wherein our workmen came to prayers every morning and evening; but having no wine we could not say Mass." [31] Father Membré tells us that the Indians also came in crowds to the chapel at the fort: "From our arrival at Fort Crèvecoeur, on the 14th of January past, Father Gabriel, our superior, Father Louis and myself had raised a cabin, in which we had established some little regularity, exercising our functions as missionaries to the French of our party and the Illinois Indians, who came in crowds." [32]

All three missionaries, however, did not remain at the fort very long. "We were three missionaries for that handful of Europeans at Fort Crèvecoeur," says Father Hennepin, "and therefore we thought fit to divide ourselves: Father Gabriel, being very old, was to continue with our men; and Father Zenobe among the Illinois, having desired it himself, in hopes to convert that numerous nation; and I . . . was to go on with our discovery."[33]

Father Ribourde thus became the chaplain of Fort Crèvecoeur, the first white settlement in Illinois. Father Membré says of him: "Father Gabriel resolved to stay at the fort with the Sieur de Tonti and the workmen. This had been, too, the request of the Sieur de la Salle, who hoped that by his credit and the apparent confidence of the people in him, he would be able to keep them in order." [34]

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[30] *A Description of Louisiana,* p. 177.
[31] *A New Discovery,* p. 170 f. (*Ill. Cath. Hist. Review,* Vol. X, p. 124.)
[32] *Ill. Cath. Hist. Review,* Vol. X, p. 380.
[33] *A New Discovery,* p. 174 f. (*Ill. Cath. Hist. Review,* Vol. X, p. 126.)
[34] *Ill. Cath. Hist. Review,* Vol. X, p. 380.

Of his own missionary work among the Illinois Indians Father Membré says: "As by the end of February I already knew a part of their language, because I spent the whole of the day in the Indian camp, which was but half a league off, our Father Superior appointed me to follow when they were about to return to to their village (the Great Village). A chief named Oumahouha had adopted me as his son in the Indian fashion, and M. de la Salle had made him presents to take care of me." [35]

Father Hennepin was commissioned by La Salle to sail down the Illinois to the Mississippi, gain the good favor of the Indians living on its banks, and explore the northern reaches of the great river. At first he hesitated and tried to excuse himself, saying that a disease of the gums obliged him to return to Canada. But when his superior, Father Ribourde, persuaded him to carry out La Salle's wish he yielded. "I considered," he says, "that since a man of his age had ventured to come along with me in so dangerous a mission, it would look as pusilanimity in me to return and leave him." [36] At this point in Hennepin's first narrative we find the only record of words spoken by Father Ribourde:

> "He begged me to proceed, saying that if I died of this infirmity, God would be one day glorified by my apostolic labors. 'It is true, my son,' said this venerable old man to me who had whitened more than forty years in the austerity of penance, 'that you will have many monsters to overcome, and precipices to pass in this enterprise, which demands the strength of the most robust. You do not know a word of the language of these nations, whom you are going to try and gain to God,—but, courage, you will gain as many victories as combats!' Considering that this Father had at his age volunteered to come and aid me in my second year (1679) of our new discovery, in the view that he had come to announce Jesus Christ to the unknown nations, and that this aged man was the only male child and heir of his father's house, who was a gentleman of Burgundy, I offered to undertake this voyage to endeavor to go and form an acquaintance with the nations among whom I hoped soon to settle in order to preach the Faith."[37]

With the blessing of Father Ribourde, Father Hennepin set out on his eventful journey, February 29, 1680, in the company of two canoemen, Michael Accau (Ako) and Anthony Auguel.[38] Hennepin describes his leave-taking in these words:

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[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *A New Discovery,* p. 174 f. (*Ill. Cath. Hist. Review,* Vol. X, p. 127.)

[37] *A Description of Louisiana,* p. 189.

> "Relying myself on the Providence of God, I took my leave of M. de la Salle and embraced all our men, receiving the blessing of Father Gabriel who told me several things to inspire me with courage, concluding his exhortation by these words of the Scripture: 'Viriliter age, et confortetur cor tuum'—'Act manfully and your heart will be strengthened.' "[39]

La Salle had come to the conclusion that the *Griffon,* which should have brought supplies to Fort Miami long ago, had perished on the Great Lakes; and he had decided to journey all the way back to Fort Frontenac and personally bring the necessary supplies to Fort Crèvecoeur. On March 2, a few days after Father Hennepin's departure, he set out for Canada "with three men, during which they suffered very much by reason of the snow, hunger and cold weather."[40]

Before he left, La Salle placed Tonti in command of Fort Crèvecoeur and told him to visit Starved Rock and ascertain whether it was advisable to build a fort there. He himself stopped at Starved Rock on his way to Canada and paid a visit to Father Membré in the Great Village on the 11th, staying with him for a full day. Continuing his journey on foot, La Salle chanced upon two of his men on the 13th. They were just returning from Michilimakinac, whither he had sent them to make inquiries about the *Griffon.* They informed La Salle that no word had been received regarding the ship's fate; and he directed them to join Tonti at Crèvecoeur.

Meanwhile Tonti had gone to inspect Starved Rock. When the two men who had been at Makinac arrived at Fort Crèvecoeur, they incited their companions to rebellion and won almost all of them to their treacherous plot. The hour to strike had come at last. Both La Salle and Tonti were absent; and of the missionaries only Father Ribourde remained. They could get rid of him by pretending to take him to the Great Village; and so the good old priest who had so often exhorted them to faithfulness was taken away in a canoe and shamefully deserted in the night. "Two of them," writes Father Membré, "who were conducting Father Gabriel to the Illinois village, where M. de Tonti had come on a visit, abandoned the good Father at night in the middle of the road." [41]

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[38] Thwaites thinks that, similarly as in the expeditions of Joliiet and La Salle, Accau was the real head of the party and Hennepin merely the accompanying missionary. But Le Clercq, Tonti and La Saile, all refer to Hennepin, who was the educated man, as the leader. It is true that subsequently La Salle spoke of Accau as the chief man; but, as Shea remarks, it was from policy and his motive is easily seen.

[39] *A New Discovery,* p. 181. (*Ill. Cath. Hist. Review,* Vol. X, p. 128).

[40] *Ibid.*

Then almost the entire personnel of the fort rose up as one man, abandoned the fort, and carried off whatever was of value. At Fort Miami the deserters not only robbed but also demolished the fort; and at Michilimakinac they stole La Salle's peltries.

When Father Ribourde learned what had transpired at Fort Crèvecoeur, he went to join his confrère and Tonti at the Great Village. Of the few men who had remained loyal, Tonti despatched four by two different routes to carry the sad news to La Salle. Only six of La Salle's thirty-three men were now left in the Illinois country. "M. de Tonti was left among the Illinois with Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, a personage of great merit and exemplary virtue, sixty-three (sixty-five) years of age; Father Zenobe Membré, a very good and wise monk; M. de Boisrondet, a faithful and intrepid young man; and two other Frenchmen,—all so destitute of ammunition that they had but three rounds apiece to fire." [42] The latter two Frenchmen were L'Esperance, a servant, and Ȇtienne Renault, a Parisian youth.

During the next six months, from the middle of March to the month of September, 1680, Fathers Ribourde and Membré devoted themselves uninterruptedly to missionary work among the Illinois. As Father Membré had been adopted by Oumahouha, so Father Ribourde was adopted in Indian fashion by Asapista, an Illinois friend of La Salle; and in his cabin the aged missionary found both food and shelter. The Illinois Indians of the Great Village numbered from seven to eight thousand souls; and hence the two missioners had a sufficient field for the exercise of their zeal. During the summer they followed these Indians to their camps and to the chase. Father Membré even made a voyage to the Miamis; and thence he visited other tribes of the Illinois. He acquired such a knowledge of the Illinois language that he could make himself understood on any subject; and even old Father Ribourde unraveled their language a little. But the missionaries found it very difficult to impart the sublime truths of the Christian religion to these Indians, since they were materially minded and morally corrupt. The deplorable state and blindness of these nations was such that Father Membré found it impossible to express it fully.

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[41] *Ill. Cath. Hist. Review,* Vol. X, p. 380. The two men, Petit Blec and Boisdardenne, were accused of abandoning Father Ribourde, in the proceedings against the deserters. Margry, Vol. II, p. 103, cited by Shea.

[42] Anderson, *Relation of the Discoveries and Voyages of Cavalier de La Salle,* p. 187.

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EARLY THEATRE IN THE SPANISH BORDERLANDS

I

Through Mexico and into the Spanish Borderlands there flowed long ago a mighty river of theatrical tradition taking its rise in that union of church and *corral* which marked the peak of Spain's romantic drama. Dry as the summer beds of Southwestern rivers this river bed has sometimes seemed in the centuries since. But its markings remain clearly discernable, giving to the painted country through which the stream flowed four hundred years ago a quality valuable as it is distinctive.

For obvious reasons historians of the American theatre have paid little heed to the culture in which Southwest literature takes deep root. Yet the plain of American literature is a broad and fertile land, fed by many streams and as apt to burst into luxurious bloom in the great Southwest as it has in the past in little New England. It is true that the theatre of America is a seedling which to the present time has shown few sport-like tendencies. But perhaps more than a little of this adherence to its English type has been due to the heavy financial control of its forcing center. Slips in soil other than New York show an experimental freedom; and the little theatres of Dallas, Pasadena, and Santa Fe are as well worth watching as those of Provincetown or Washington Square.

The great distinction between the culture of the Southwest and that of New England is the same as that between the Southwest and the South. It is the appreciation and development of the theatre by the Spanish churchmen. To their various localities the Oriental in California, the Indian in New Mexico, the Negro in Texas have each contributed a unique racial element. Out of San Francisco has come *The Yellow Jacket,* through Dallas has come *The No 'Count Boy,* and annually in and around Santa Fe occur those dances and ceremonials which pre-date the religious drama of the Church. Linking these diverse elements together, however, is the chain of Spanish missions stretching from Texas to California. Here are the memorials of that rich culture which is the common property of the great Southwest. The sophistication of the unchurched Cavalier theatre and the Puritan suspicion of the theatre are alike foreign to the cultural background of the Spanish Borderlands, where gaiety of song and dance was heard at every outpost and festivals were held at every mission with appropriate dramatic exercises.

Historians should be little surprised to find in the Southwest the record of a play which pre-dates any of those claimed as the earliest acted on the North American continent.[1] The colorful country between the Gulf and the Pacific was colonized during the peak of the Motherland's great dramatic period. During the Renaissance Spain had risen to the height of Catholic and national consciousness through the expulsion of the Moors and the conquest of the New World. The drama which reflected this new consciousness was a strangely glamorous blend of Moorish color and Spanish chivalry. Ardor of religious devotion combined with a punctilious sense of personal honor to produce the romantic drama that was Spain's great national achievement. Everywhere the royal banner went the Church went too. And everywhere the Church went drama went.

By 1590 theatres had been fitted up in Madrid. These *corrales* however did not take drama from the church. Lope de Rueda is indeed given credit for taking Spanish drama out of the church into the public yards and marketplaces. But his riotous humor and rich dialect only served immediately to broaden drama through the inclusion of types of low life. Church and *corral* were for long competitors in theatre. At the height of Lope de Vega's power he wrote plays for both.

Between the secular and the religious play of the dynamic period of Spanish drama there was in fact little distinction. The *comedia* presented in the theatre was not what is now known as comedy, but rather a verse-play in three acts which might have either a comic or a tragic effect. Lope de Vega and his fellows wrote three kinds of *comedia:* saint plays, "cloak and sword" intrigues, and historical dramas presenting personages of royal or high rank.

To placate the impatience of the unruly Spanish audience, which arrived at the theatre hours before the performance in order to get seats, the *comedia* was usually interlarded with theatrical side-dishes of one sort or another and preceded by a *loa* recited by a member of the company. This *loa* was a prologue of purely complimentary and diverting nature. "To throw the loa" to the audience was sometimes the task of the leading actor; more often in minor pieces this gaining of the audience's good will was confided to the clown. Such a prologue is a normal part of Mexican rustic representations along the Rio Grande today. Doubtless it is found there for the same reason that it was necessary in the theatre of Lope de Vega and Calderon—for John G. Bourke has declared that every word of Gautier's description of the theatre of Spain in which the prompter hides under a tin roof in order to avoid the potatoes, apples, and orange-peel thrown at the actors applies as well to the theatre of the Mexican border.[2]

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[1] See Montrose Moses, *Representative Plays by American Dramatists.* New York, 1918, 1:5.

Mary Caroline Crawford, *The Romance of the American Theatre.* Boston, 1925, pp. 19-21.

Arthur Hobson Quinn, *A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War.* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1923, pp. 4-5.

It was but natural that this popular theatre should have its effect on the theatre of the church. Many features of the secular theatre accompanied the drama transferred to New Spain. At the time of the discovery of the New World street performances were common throughout Europe. Maypole dances and other festival games and gayeties were general. The robust wit of the *Commedia dell' Arte* was soon to spread throughout the Mediterranean countries. Religious observances were popular. Miracle plays and passion plays were rendered in many places.[3] And everywhere the boisterous demanding audiences shaped their theatre as they experienced it.

The religious representation of most interest during the great dramatic period of Spain was the *auto sacramental.* The *auto* was at first a strictly religious representation. It was the custom to present it before the Holy Sacrament in the principal chapel of the cathedral, the play proper being followed by mass, sermon, and dancing, and the procession not emerging from the cathedral until evening.[4]

From the hands of Lope de Vega and his followers, at the turn of the sixteenth century, this Corpus Christi drama received its great development in regularity and brilliance. In the process it grew to enormous proportions. No expense was spared in settings, costumes, or presentation. "For the representation of *El Naufragio de Jonás profeta,* at Pasencio in 1578, a large stage was built in the square of the city, and upon it a tank was constructed sixty feet long and twenty feet wide, which was filled with water, upon which a ship floated, with its sails and tackle, large enough to hold a number of sailors and passengers. . . . The properties on these cars were of pasteboard and were made 'as the poets requested.' The costumes worn by the players were of the richest and costliest silks." Some idea of the costumes may be gained from a description of the auto *Job,* which was presented in Madrid in 1592. "Job is to wear a long coat of purple damask and a hat of taffeta, and buskins; God the Father appears in a tunic of sateen or taffeta of gold and purple, with a cloak of white taffeta." [5]

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[2] H. A. Rennert, *The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega,* The Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1909, pp. 294, 296.

Also, John G. Bourke, "Language and Folk-Usage of the Rio Grande Valley," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* 9:100.

[3] Frederick Starr, "Popular Celebrations in Mexico," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* 9:161.

[4] H. A. Rennert, *Op. cit.,* pp. 8, 305.

Gorgeous indeed became these religious spectacles, and much abused by the license of worldly participants. In the beginning all expenses had been defrayed by the cathedral chapter. Very early strolling players had been engaged for dancing and representations; later, players were often attached to the monasteries. By the fifteenth century charge of the Corpus Christi festivals had been transferred to the guilds; in 1554, in Seville, at least, the expense of the spectacles had been assumed by the city.[6]

Originally planned for public celebration of religious observances these Corpus Christi dramas eventually were given private representations, at command, and at times other than Corpus Christi. They were given representation in the theatre. Always accompanied by dancing, gradually they assumed an order of presentation not unlike that of the secular drama, like the *comedia* being accompanied by prologues and farces. Gradually too the sacred procession through the city changed to a rout of wild mummery, with such strange figures as giants and serpent-women for the amusing and the aweing of the crowd.[7]

Even their insistent opponents within the Church failed to curb the *autos'* growing freedom. Not until 1765 was there a royal decree issued declaring that comedians being unfit and unworthy persons to represent the sacred mysteries the King had therefore determined to prohibit all representations of *autos* throughout his kingdom and to renew the prohibition already placed on *comedias de santos.*[8]

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[5] *Ibid.,* pp. 9, 308-09, 311, 301.
[6] *Ibid.,* pp. 4-9.
[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 231, 317-19, 52-53, 311, 298.

Long before this banning of the strange comingling of holy mystery with robbery, clowning, and adultery, the King's banner had been carried across the sea into the Spanish Borderlands and with it the Spanish species of entertainment.

II

In view of the close union of drama and church in the Spanish Motherland it seems but natural that the first play known to have been acted in North America should have been written by a Spaniard and performed in conjunction with a religious celebration.

The play was acted on the thirtieth of April, 1598, on the river just below El Paso, where Juan de Oñate had struck camp to take formal possession "of all the Kingdoms and provinces of New Mexico, on the Rio del Norte, in the name of our Lord King Philip." [9]

It was performed at a time when in the Motherland the death of Catherine, sister of Philip the Third, had temporarily closed the theatres of Madrid—a period during which the opponents of the theatre insistently pressed the claim that *comedias* constituted a threat against the people and the throne: that they "fostered habits of idleness and pleasure-seeking in the people and turned their minds from warlike pursuits; that the banquets, festivals, and comedias were rendering the Spanish people effeminate and unfit for the hardships of war, and that the King, being obliged to wage war against the enemies of the faith, was ill prepared, as a result of the comedias as they are now represented in Spain." On the second of May, 1598, these opponents of the theatre actually secured a royal decree prohibiting the representation of *comedias.* Immediately the *comedia* was memorialized by its friends as "an example, notice, portrait, mirror, model, doctrine, and warning of life, whereby prudent and docile men may restrain their passions, flee vices, elevate their thoughts, and learn virtues by demonstration." But it was April 17, 1599, before these petitions of the city of Madrid moved the King to allow again the performance of comedias in theatres of the kingdom. Thus two days after the performance in the

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[8] *Ibid.,* pp. 260-66, 316-17.

[9] "New Mexico Ytinerario." *Pacheco y Cardenas, Documentos inéditos,* 16:242.

Spanish Borderlands of the first play in America it was made evident that conservatives in the institution that had fostered the theatre had grown to fear the strength of its development.[10]

Yet surely the theatre had not yet usurped the place of reality for the Spanish people. Warlike pursuits still prevailed, the lure of the unknown still prompted high adventures.

In the *corrales* of Old Spain castanets were clicking in time to the enticing tunes of *chacona* and *zarabanda* when in 1595 Juan de Onate set up his banner in the square of Mexico and sounded fife and drum to enlist volunteers for the conquest and settlement of New Mexico.

Onate was the scion of a family distinguished for generations through services to the Crown in Spain and in Mexico; his wife was a descendent of both Cortes and Montezuma II. He had been granted extensive privileges in New Mexico. His colonists were promised the rank of hidalgo for themselves and for their heirs. His expedition was prepared in feudal style. Men of means were made captains. Rich men staked their fortunes on him gamble. Young men with the splendor of the *autos sacramentales* before their eyes and the magic of Cervantes and Lope de Vega in their ears swore homage and fealty to this new conquistador, setting up their standards and raising companies at their own expense.

Indian wags had told tales "of a land to the north where people slept under water and wore golden bracelets; of a race of unipeds; of giant Amazons on the silver island to the west; of a tribe with long ears trailing on the ground, and of another nation which lived on smells." [11] Onate wished to explore the Buffalo Plains, discover the "Strait of Anian," open a land route to the Pacific, and take a look at the country northeastward beyond "Quivira." With him, to explore and colonize this land of the Southwest, went one hundred and thirty soldiers, most of them taking their families; a band of Franciscans led by Father Martinez; a large retinue of Negro and Indian slaves; seven thousand head of stock; and eighty-three wagons and carts for transporting the women and children and the baggage.

Among the young gallants of the party was the poet Captain Gaspar de Villagrá, who in his *Historia de la Nueva Mexico* celebrated the adventures of the group in stirring verse:

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[10] H. A. Rennert, *Op. cit.,* pp. 206-28.

[11] Herbert E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands.* Yale University, New Haven, 1921, pp. 170-77.

> "Of arms I sing and of the man heroic . . .
> Of those brave men of Spain conquistadores."

Among them too was the Beau Brummel, Captain Luis de Velasco, who with his suits of satin, Italian velvet, and Chinese flowered silk, did indeed find himself unfit for the hardships before him. And among them was a captain of the guard, Marcos Farfan de los Godos, who, before returning to Mexico with a report to the Viceroy, was to lead a portion of the party to the goldfields of Arizona as well as to fight with Villagrá and others in that historic three-day seige when men and women followers of Zutucupan danced naked on the walls of Acoma in defiance of the conquering Spaniard.[12]

It is Captain Farfan whom Bancroft credits with the play[13] which pre-dates by sixty-seven years the first English play recorded as acted in America, and by eight years that French masque performed in Acadia in 1606.[14] Farfan was forty years of age, a native of Seville, son of Gines Farfan de los Godos; and in the muster-roll of Onate's expedition made at the mines of Todos Santos January 8, 1598 for the King's inspector is listed as being "of good stature, chestnut-colored beard," appearing with his arms and the other things which he declared had been given to his soldiers.[15]

The play was performed in the evening, after a day of imposing religious ceremonies, which included mass in a chapel erected for the occasion, a "learned" sermon by the *padre comisario,* and the blessing of the royal standard as it was consigned to the charge of the royal ensign. Was it a true *comedia* that Farfan wrote for the occasion? History says only that its theme dealt with the reception which the Church would receive in New Mexico.[16]

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[12] *Ibid.* See also Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico,* pp. 114, 139, 142-45.

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 127: "an original comedy written by Captain Farfan on a subject connected with the conquest of New Mexico."

[14] Philip Alexander Bruce. Frederick Lewis Gay. "The First American Play," *The Nation,* February 11, 1909.

[15] George P. Hammond, "Official List of the Soldiers who Accompanied Onate to New Mexico in 1598, in Alphabetic Order," Appendix A, "The Founding of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review,* 2:151-65, 155.

[16] George P. Hammond, "The Establishment of the Colony," Chapter VI, "The Founding of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review,* 1:308-24.

We may be certain that music sounded and that some of the gay brocades packed in the wagons were brought out for the representation. It was April and pleasant weather on the Rio Grande. Onate and his men were to found a permanent outpost for Spain and a colony which after three centuries gives character to one of the American commonwealths. They were to follow the Canadian into Oklahoma and enter Quivira at Wichita, Kansas. They were to explore Arizona and Colorado and follow the Colorado River to the Gulf of California. There was no forewarning that pleasant April evening that the rewards for their services were to be poverty, enemies, and disappointments. The "otro" Mexico was not far distant. They began the expedition in the grand manner of their race, with prayer and song and drama.

III

The tradition begun with Farfan's *comedia* appears again today in the romantic comedies brought to Spanish America by traveling companies carrying the theatre of the Motherland to its spiritual colonies. Troupes from the theatres of Barcelona and Seville bring revue repertoirres to Havana and Mexico,[17] *Carmen* is performed in true Spanish tradition in the playhouses of Tabasco,[18] and plays in Spanish are presented in Santa Fe by local Spanish literary societies or by troupes from Mexico, who find an enthusiastic welcome for their native tongue in this city of the United States on whose narrow streets one hears quite as much Spanish as English.[19]

But older than this secular theatre and even more deeply rooted among the people of the old Spanish colonies is the church theatre and its influences. Sixty years before Farfan's play was performed on the banks of the Rio Grande the drama had already been introduced into New Spain. The friars early realized that the spectacles so beloved in the Motherland would appeal just as greatly to the mimetic-minded people of Spain's new colonies. Long before her priests had learned the speech of these bronze children of the West the universal language of dance and gesture had been employed to speak for the Mother

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[17] See *Variety,* January 29, 1930, p. 2, for account of Latin American tour of Souvranie's Revue Company from the Theatro Comico, Barcelona.

[18] Philips Russell, *Red Tiger—Adventures in Yucatan and Mexico.* Brentano, New York, 1929, pp. 181, 186.

[19] Ruth Laughlin Barker, "Where Americans are Anglos," *North American Review.* November, 1929, pp. 568-73.

Church. But as rapidly as the new languages were learned the priests employed them in religious services and dramas, so that the converts might participate in these in their own tongue. Sahagun is credited with the composition of 365 "canticos" in the Aztec tongue, one for every day in the year: little farces composed of songs accompanied by gestures and intermingled with dialogues. And among both the Spaniards and the Mexicans themselves he was not without imitators.[20]

Of the mediums available for the conveying of the Christian message drama was one which was naturally chosen by churchmen. At the moment of the American colonization miracles and mystery plays had reached the height of their European development. Out of the dialogue of the tenth-century "Quem quaeritis" had gradually evolved the Easter and the Passion plays which by the thirteenth century were found in Germany, France, England, Holland, Italy, and Spain. By their extension and from their example miracles and mysteries sprang and developed.

Such drama constituted an excellent instrument of conversion. The plays provided the most effective possible way to present the appealing stories of the Christian faith. Yet in spirit they were as native to America as they were to Europe and to Asia. The mystery play is a dramatic emergent to which intense religiosity naturally gives birth. The symbolic rituals of the Pueblo and the Plains Indians of North America are represented with no less ecstasy of concentration than the annual Persian mystery play which excites millions of Mohammedans to frenzied grief and passion.[21]

How the sacred drama was used by the Spaniards is shown by the records. "In the famous festival of Corpus Christi at

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[20] See Auguste Genin, "Notes on the Dances, Music, and Songs of the Ancient and Modern Mexicans," *Annual Report Smithsonian Institution, 1920,* Washington, D. C., p. 670.

M. R. Cole, Introduction to *Los Pastores—a Mexican Play of the Nativity, Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society.* Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1907, pp. xi-xii.

[21] See "Persia's Miracle Play," *Review of Reviews,* September, 1910, 42:365.

Virginia Shropshire Heath, "Dramatic Elementa in American Indian Ceremonials," *University of Nebraska Studies, 1914.* Lincoln, Nebraska, 14:377-415.

Ralph Linton, Series of leaflets on the Pawnee ceremonials. Published by Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1922-1923.

Oliver La Farge, "Plastic Prayers—Dances of the Southwestern Indians," *Theatre Arts Monthly,* March, 1930, 14:218-25.

Tlaxcala, in 1538," says Riva Palacio in his *México á través de los Siglos,* "an elaborate auto was given, the subject being the sin of Adam and Eve." [22] That this was not an isolated appearance is shown by the recorded presentation of the mystery entitled *The Last Judgment.* This play, by Father Andres de Olmos, was presented in 1540 in the church of Tlaltelolco, in the presence of the first viceroy of Mexico, Don Antonio de Mendoza, and of Fray Zumarraga, the first archbishop.[23]

How effective the cathedral setting must have been in medieval days as a background for this type of religious ceremonial Reinhardt demonstrated some years ago in his transformations of present-day auditoriums for his presentation of *The Miracle.* It is reported that during the guest matinee of *The Miracle* given for London clergymen in 1912 two low Churchmen left their seats while the Prince and the Robber Baron were gambling for possession of the nun and that the bed episode and the pick-a-pack men also were given condemnation. But on the whole the crucifix crowning the rood screen the colored windows and the swinging lamps, the peal of bells, the Latin intonations, and the singing processional created an atmosphere of beauty that stilled discussion and won for this reviving of the miracle play the appreciation of Protestant as well as Catholic.[24]

What place such plays have in the life of a people is shown by the hold certain survivals have upon their communities and by the spontaneous creation of new mysteries which still occasionally occurs.

In England, in the late nineteenth century, Cornwall and Worcestershire representations of the Christmas St. George-play still rejoiced the inhabitants with fierce combats, revivals of the dead, and blissful espousals.[25] In the West Indies of the same time the Christmas holidays were made generally merry for the St. Kitts population by music, masking, and "moka jumbic" dances which had their origin in Afric forests. But the most elaborate performance of the week's celebration, and one repeated again and again in the streets of the city, was a combat between the wonderfully arrayed armies of Philistia and Israel. In it a stout negro Goliath in red war-clothes and oakum beard was challenged in resounding blank verse by a slight David, who trusted not in vain to the powers of a return rubber ball which smote the capering Goliath to the ground and caused him to die in great muscular agony.[26] A more modern mystery, composed by the pastor of a negro church, is *The Visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon.* This, witnessed in the mountains of Virginia one summer in the early years of the present century, shows the same riotous rejoicing in the gorgeous materials of Biblical lore.[27]

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[22] See quotation in M. R. Cole's Introduction to *Los Pastores—a Mexican Play of the Nativity. Op. cit.,* p. xi.

[23] Auguste Genin, *op. cit.,* p. 670.

[24] "The Modern Church and Miracle Plays," *Literary Digest,* February 17, 1912, 44:336-37. (In the United States approval of *The Miracle* was by no means general among the Catholic clergy. Ed.).

[25] "A Christmas Play in Cornwall," *Atlantic Monthly,* February, 1885, 55:275-78.

Antoinette Taylor, "An English Christmas Play," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* 22:389-93.

In what was once New Spain Biblical and legendary lore turned easily to drama. Along the Rio Grande there is still evinced the folk tendency to romanticize the real. It is a land where experience is immediately translated. Horse-breaking is a thing of song. Bandits with five or six dead to their credit and an off chance to make it across the border become heroes overnight, with broadside ballads reciting their glories in bloody crime.[28] Such a tendency is but the other face of the folk necessity of symbolizing the abstract. In a land of these tendencies the miracle play not only takes hold but persists, century after century, sometimes in a distorted form and against the offices of the institution which first introduced it.

WINIFRED JOHNSTON

Norman, Oklahoma

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[26] Alfred M. Williams, "A Miracle-Play in the West Indies," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* 9:117-20.

[27] John M. McBryde, Jr., "A Modern Miracle Play," *Atlantic Monthly,* August, 1912, 100:266-69.

[28] See J. Frank Dobie, "El Cancion del Rancho de Los Almos" and "Texan-Mexican Border Broadsides," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* 36:192-95, 185-91.

FRAY JUAN PADILLA

PROTO-MARTYR OF THE UNITED STATES AND TEXAS

The sifting of the evidence as contained in the various documents that narrate the story of the expedition of Coronado to Quivira has revealed many differences of opinion among historians as to the location of this mythical city of the plains. In attempting a survey for this purpose a knowledge of the country by actual observation must be made with source materials in hand, otherwise the historian cannot check up the statements noted down by the explorers as they pushed their way thither. First, it is necessary to ascertain the facts as related by General Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, by Pedro de Castañeda de Naçera and Juan Jaramillo, captains of the expedition, and then a correct interpretation must be found from a critical examination of the information given.[1]

Hitherto the investigations of James Hervey Simpson in his *Coronado's March* and of George Parker Winship in his *Journey of Coronado* have been regarded by scholars as yielding a satisfactory and highly probable solution of this mooted question,[2] but careful and critical study of the testimony coupled with a reconnaisance of the country described by the explorers was made by David Donoghue and the results of his investigation are contained in an article entitled "The Route of the Coronado Expedition in Texas," published in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (XXXII, pp. 181--192, January, 1929).

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[1] Castañeda, Pedro de: *Relacion de la jornada de Cibola;* Coronado, Francisco Vazquez: *Relacion del Suceso;* Jaramillo, Juan: *Relacion de la jornada.* These are the original sources furnishing the detailed accounts of the Coronado expedition and are to be found with translations in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* which has been consulted and followed here. Other texts of the above narratives are found in Ternaux-Compans, Henri: *Voyages,* (See Vol. 9 for French translations of Castañeda) *Doc. de Indias,* Vol. 3, 13, 14, and 19 contain the chief Coronado documents. See also Smith, Buckingham: *Florida,* pp. 147-54, pp. 154-63; Hakluyt, Richard: *Principal Navigations, Voyages,* etc., Vol. 3; *Old South Leaflet, Gen. Series,* No. 29; *American History Leaflet,* No. 13; Ramusio, Giovanni Battista; *Navigationi et Viaggi,* Vol. 3, contains Italian translations of important original documents not now available elsewhere.

[2] Simpson, J. H.: "Coronado's March in the Search of the Seven Cities of Cibola" in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the Year 1869;* Winship, Geo. Parker: "The Coronado Expedition 1540-42" in *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.*

In this review of the case there are abundant citations from all available documents and comparisons of these have been made one with the other and with the findings of the two historians mentioned above. The conclusions reached by Donoghue seem most convincing. Instead of designating Kansas or Nebraska as the territorial limit of Coronado's journey the following route has been traced which corresponds, in almost every detail with the descriptions recorded in the original sources:

> "Leaving Pecos (Cicuye) in western San Miguel County, New Mexico, the expedition proceeded down the west side of the Rio Pecos for three or four days. North of Santa Rosa in Guadalupe County, the course of the Rio Pecos turns more to the south but still flows in a southeasterly direction. In the vicinity of Santa Rosa the bridge was built.
>
> An arm of the Llano Estacado extends towards this area and it is the divide between the Canadian and the Pecos. This forms the most direct and convenient road to the plains from Pecos. Crossing the river the expedition made its way to the Llano Estacado, passed through Quay County and northern Curry County, New Mexico, and into Palmer County, Texas, thence across Castro County to the ravines already identified as Palo Duro Cañon and its tributaries, of which Tule Cañon is the largest, in Briscoe, Swisher, Armstrong and Randall Counties, Texas.
>
> In Palo Duro Cañon, or in one or more of its several branches, the army camped, and explored the surrounding country. Here Coronado selected thirty horsemen and set out for Quivira.
>
> Jaramillo says Coronado marched to the north, the *Relacion del Suceso* says the course was 'by the needle,' and Castañeda states that a detour was made towards Florida. Travelling north or northeast across Armstrong and Carson Counties and into Hutchinson County or Potter County the river 'below Quivira' was reached on Saint Peter and Saint Paul's Day.
>
> Jaramillo states that after reaching the river 'below Quivira' Coronado followed up the north bank towards the northeast to the settlements. In Potter, Hutchinson, and Roberts Counties the Canadian flows in a northeasterly direction.
>
> Here then, was Quivira, on the Canadian River near the northeastern border of the Llando Estacado in the counties of Hutchinson and Roberts, in the Texas Panhandle."[3]

Donoghue states in conclusion: "Of this much I am certain: the expedition never left the Llano Estacado; Palo Duro Cañon and its tributaries are the only ravines that fit Castañeda's descriptions; the salt lakes are found only in the southern Llano Estacado; Quivira was on the Canadian or some of its tributary creeks at the edge of the plains." [4]

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[3] David Donoghue: "The Route of the Coronado Expedition in Texas" in *Southwestern Hist. Quarterly,* XXXII, pp. 190-91. See also original texts (*The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542* by Winship) and compare.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 192.

With this historical and geographical setting and the identification of the neighborhood in which Fray Juan Padilla labored, the account of his life takes on a new significance for the people of the Southwest.

The expedition of Coronado was inspired by the fascinating reports of the wanderings of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and the wonderful story of the discoveries of Fray Marcos de Niza. Hardly had the latter returned to Compostela in Nueva Galicia than the pulpits rang far and wide throughout the realm with the startling announcement of the glorious crusade. This kindled the ardor of the Spanish nobility in Mexico for exploration and settlement of this land of enchantment and glittering treasures and it also inflamed the burning zeal of the sons of St. Francis for the conversion of souls and the spiritual conquest of the various native tribes that roamed the vast unknown wilderness. In fact Fray Marcos, although worn and weary by his long and hazardous journey to and from Cibola, joined the motley throng of over eleven hundred persons that composed Coronado's expedition and with him also set out Fray Juan Padilla, Fray Juan de la Cruz and Fray Luis Descalona, all eager to preach the Gospel and to spread Christianity among the savages. The heroic efforts of De Niza to continue the wearisome journey proved of no avail for his health was broken and he was therefore compelled to turn back after Coronado reached Zuni in New Mexico. The trials, hardships and sufferings he endured brought on paralysis from which he never fully recovered.[5]

Fray Juan de la Cruz was advanced in years when he decided to join the expedition. Everyone admired his unfaltering courage in undertaking these toilsome journeys on foot over the limitless and forbidding desert wastes that even today are dangerous for the traveler. He was so highly regarded for his saintly life by Coronado himself that the latter gave orders to his soldiers that each should touch his hat or helmet whenever the name of this holy man was mentioned. He took up his labors among the Tiguas Indians at Bernalillo on the Rio Grande.

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[5] Foik, "Early Catholic Explorers of the Southwest" in MID-AMERICA, XII, No. 3, Jan. 1930. See also Bandelier's article, "Fray Juan de Padilla, First Catholic Missionary and Martyr in Eastern Kansas" in *American Cath. Quarterly Review,* XV, pp. 551-65; Mendieta, Fray Geronimo: *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana;* Torquemada: *Monarchia Indiana;* Mota-Padilla, Matias de la: *Historia de la Nueva Galicia;* Vetuncurt: *Menologia Franciscano.*

Fray Luis Descalona was a lay brother who selected Cicuye now known as Pecos, as his place to serve God. Like the hermits of old or the fathers of the desert he built himself a little hut outside the pueblo. Here he tended the sheep which Coronado had left with him. Though living a life of recollection and seclusion, he taught the Indians the Christian religion. The greater part of the tribe was attracted by the happy and peaceful life of this humble servant of the Master; but there were sorcerers and wizards who bitterly opposed him because they felt that his presence and influence would lessen their own power among the natives.[6]

Fray Juan Padilla, the youngest of the group of missionaries, had a wonderful record throughout the entire Coronado expedition. He journeyed with Pedro de Tobar to Moqui in the vicinity of Grand Canyon; he returned to Zuni; he joined Hernando de Alvarado on a thousand mile trip over vast deserts; and he accompanied Coronado in his search for the mythical Quivira.[7]

Before taking up these extensive travels and missionary labors Padilla had held important positions in his community. He had been the guardian of the Franciscans at Tulacingo and Zapotlan.[8] He was in the full vigor of his manhood when he decided to devote the remainder of his life in the unknown northern wilderness, converting and educating the aborgines in the truths of Christianity.

This heroic soldier of Christ was as strict and exacting in his religious life as he was energetic and determined in physical daring. He frequently had occasion during the progress of the expedition to reprehend and to punish evildoers.[9]

We can gage his stamina amid hardships and privations by the fact that he was a pedestrian on every step of his journeys. The padre in brown Franciscan habit walked all the way from the heart of old Mexico across burning hot and dusty deserts, through long stretches of thorny mesquites and prickly cactus, climbing up rugged mountains and descending dangerous and precipitous slopes that impeded the steady march of these travelers north. No sacrifice was too great for this Apostle. He would wend his weary way to the end of the earth because he craved for the salvation of souls. This was indeed the serious purpose that urged him to accompany Coronado on that memorable journey to Quivira.

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[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542,* cited above, pp. 400, 488, 391, 594, 571, 579, 592, 529, 534; Alvarado, Hernando de: *Relacion de lo que Hernando de Alvarado y Fray Juan de Padilla descubrieron* in *Doc. de Indias,* III, pp. 511-13; Smith, Buckingham: *Florida,* pp. 65-66; *Boston Transcript,* Oct. 14, 1893—translation.

[8] Mendieta: *Hist. Ecclesiastica,* p. 742; Torquemada: *Monarchia,* III, pp. 606-11; Vetancurt: *Menologia,* (ed. of 1871) p. 386.

[9] Mendieta: *Hist. Ecclesiastica,* p. 742.

The incentives that led the General in quest of this land of fantasy were furnished by statements of a captive Indian called the Turk, who offered to guide the explorers in search of this place with mysterious treasures. His representations made a profound impression on the gallant host of adventurers and gold seekers. Coronado left the main body of his soldiers on the edge of the plains and took with him thirty chosen cavaliers and Padre Juan Padilla. "Through mighty plains and sandy heaths," says the chronicler of this journey, "smooth and wearisome and bare of wood, they traveled. All the way the plains are as full of crook back oxen (buffaloes) as the mountain Serano in Spain is of sheep. They were a great succor for the hunger and want our people stood in."

Again Coronado describes the territory through which they traveled in the following manner: "After nine days' march I reached some plains so vast that I did not find the limits anywhere I went although I traveled over them for more than three hundred leagues. . . . I traveled five days more as the guides wished to lead me until I reached some plains with no more land marks than if we had been swallowed up by the sea, where they [the guides] strayed about, because there was not a stone, nor a bit of rising ground, nor a tree, nor anything to go by."[10]

Castañeda, one of the selected group, very graphically describes the territory. "The country is like a bowl, so that when a man sits down, the horizon surrounds him all around at the distance of a musket shot."[11] In another place he states: "The country seemed as round as if a man should imagine himself in a three pint measure, and could see the sky at the edge of it about a crossbow shot from him, and even if a man only lay down on his back, he lost sight of the ground."[12]

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[10] *Letter of Coronado to the King,* Oct. 20, 1841, in *Pacheco y Cardenas: Documentos de Indias,* III, p. 363; also,, XIV, p. 255. Translation in Winship: *The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542,* pp. 580-83. Quoted by Donoghue, *op. cit.,* p. 186.

[11] Castañeda: *Relation de la Jornada de Cibola.* See Winship, *op. cit.,* p. 527; quoted by Donoghue, *op. cit.,* p. 186.

[12] Winship, *op. cit.,* p. 543; quoted by Donoghue, *op. cit.,* p. 186.

Coronado in his *Relacion de Suceso* notes: "It was so dangerous to travel or to go away from the camp in these plains, that it is as if one was traveling on the sea . . . and they are so level and have no mountain or prominent landmark that if one went out of sight of the camp he was lost. . . ." [13] This all clearly indicates that the country through which they passed on their way to Quivira was none other than the Llano Estacado (The Staked Plains of New Mexico and Western Texas). This firm conviction is also held by R. T. Hill in his *Physical Geography of the Texas Region* where he emphatically states his opinion.[14]

It was on account of this lack of landmarks that confusion and bewilderment seized the Coronado party, for the Turk had seemingly lost his bearings and roamed about aimlessly for several days.

That this treacherous deed was planned by this tricky Indian beforehand is gathered from the narrative of Castañeda. The scheming Turk in league with the natives of Cicuye had plotted the destruction of the explorers. This the captain relates as follows: "The General followed his guides until he reached Quivira, which took forty-eight days marching on account of the detour they had made towards Florida. He was received peacefully on account of the guides whom he had with him. They asked the Turk why he had lied and had guided them so far out of the way. He said that his country was in that direction and that besides this, the people of Cicuye had asked him to lead them off on the plains and lose them, so that the horses would die when the provisions ran out, and they would be so weak if they ever returned that they could be killed without any trouble and thus they could take revenge for what had been done to them. This was the reason why he had led them astray, supposing that they did not know how to hunt, or to live without corn, while as for gold, he did not know where there was any of it. He said this like one who had given up hope and who found that he was being persecuted, since they had begun to believe Ysopete, who had guided them better than he had, and fearing lest those who were there might give some advice by which some harm would come to him. They garroted him which pleased Ysopete very much because he had always said that Ysopete was a rascal and that he did not know what he was talking about and had always hindered his talking with anybody. Neither gold nor silver nor any trace of either was found among these people. Their lord wore a copper plate on his neck and prized it highly."[15]

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[13] *Ibid,* p. 578.

[14] Hill, R. T.: *Physical Geography of Texas Region,* United States Geological Survey, *Topographic Atlas of the United States.* Folio No. 3, Washington, 1900, p. 6. Cited by Donoghue.

Fray Juan Padilla returned with the disappointed Coronado from the land of the Quivirans. Unlike the cavaliers, the humble padre, as was always his custom, trudged along on foot all the way back to Bernalillo. Here the missionaries again resolved to devote their lives for the conversion of the Indian tribes to Christianity. Father Juan de la Cruz had already entered upon his labors among the Pueblos and Fray Luis Descalons remained at Cicuye. Coronado broken in spirit wended his weary way back to Compostela; he was treated with contumely and lost his place as Governor of Nueva Galicia.

Father Padilla retraced his steps across the vast plains to Quivira. He took with him Andres Docampo, a soldier, Lucas and Sebastian who were Donados in the Franciscan order, and a few Mexican Indian boys. This little band already wearied by much travel trudged that long distance on foot until they reached the village where Coronado had planted a large cross and here Father Juan Padilla established his mission.[16]

His influence with the savages soon prepared their minds and hearts for the Word of God and these roving children of the prairies loved him as a father. The burning zeal of Fray Juan Padilla led him to attempt the conversion of the Guas, a neighboring hostile tribe. The Quivirans had become so attached to the kind padre that they were loath to lose his religious ministrations since their enemies were about to derive the benefit. But Fray Padilla was determined to go. After about one day's travel the padre and his companions met a band of these infuriated Quiviran Indians on the warpath. He wished to secure the safety of everyone but himself. He had yearned for this day which was to obtain for him a martyr's crown.

The approach of the galloping dusty horde left but little time for action. Docampo, the soldier still possessed his horse. The two Donados and the Mexican Indians were fleet runners.

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[15] Castañeda: *Relacion de la Jornada de Cibola.* See Winship, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

[16] Lummis, Chas. F.: *The Spanish Pioneers,* p. 121. Bandelier, A. F.: *op. cit.*, p. 562. Motolinia, Fray: *Relation Postrero de Sivola.* Translation by Winship: *op. cit.*, pp. 566-71.

"Flee, my children," cried Padilla, "Save yourselves, for me ye cannot help and why should all die together. Run!" [17]

There was a moment of indecision. But as the padre pleaded with them again, they seemed to read the thoughts of his heart and made good their escape.

A scene was about to be enacted where one of God's heroes was to make the supreme sacrifice of his life.

Fray Padilla dropped on his knees and offered his soul to his Master and as he prayed the Indians pierced him from head to foot with many arrows. Thus died the first martyr of Texas.

This new triumph of Christianity was carried back to civilization by his fleeing companions. They too had many tribulations and hardships. For ten months they were compelled to live as slaves, beaten and starved almost to death. Finally after many unsuccessful attempts they escaped from the cruel servitude of these barbarians. Amid the most terrible privations and dangers they wandered footsore and forlorn for eight long years. They zigzagged across the burning hot sands of the desert for thousands and thousands of miles and finally found their way to Tampico where they had been given up as lost or killed by the savages. They returned weary and broken in health but they had accomplished their purpose.[18] They brought back to civilization the glorious story of the martyrdom of Padre Juan Padilla, the proto-martyr of the United States and of Texas.

The other two sons of St. Francis also received martyr's crowns. Father Juan de la Cruz was killed by the Tiguas Indians. Mendieta says, "Of this servant of God little is known except that he remained alone in the Pueblo of Siguex where he taught the Indians the articles of Faith and practices of Christian life. These Indians were very much pleased and gave signs of appreciation by embracing him and by other demonstrations of good will. Let it be understood that he died a martyr." [19] Mota-Padilla shows how he met his death: "Concerning Padre de la Cruz we possess these facts: That after having labored in the instruction of the Indians of Tiguex and Coquite he died pierced by arrows from those who did not embrace his doctrines. He tried to change them from their barbarous customs. He was highly esteemed by the chief and other natives because they had observed the veneration which the General, the Captains and the soldiers had shown him." [20] From the early martyrologies and especially in Vetancurt's *Menologia Franciscano* we learn that his death occurred on November 25, 1542.

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[17] Foik, "Early Catholic Explorers of the Southwest" in MID-AMERICA, XII, No. 3, Jan. 1930; Mota-Padilla: *Historia de la Nueva Galicia,* p. 167; Lummis, Chas. F.: *op. cit.,* p. 122; Bandelier: *op. cit.,* p. 564.

[18] Gomara, Francis Lopez de: *Historia General de Indias,* also his Cronica; Herrera, Antonio de: *Historia General.*

[19] Mendieta: *Hist. Ecclesiastica,* p. 745.

It is very likely that Fray Luis Descalona met his death at the hands of the wizards and sorcerers who hated him, for they had some apprehensions that his love and friendship for the natives might destroy their own magic spell.

Bandelier pays a sweet tribute to the memory of these martyrs: "They were never heard from again. Such is the funeral oration simple but pathetic from its very simplicity. Of these, the two old monks, Fray Juan de la Cruz and Fray Luis, remaining alone in the newly discovered land, happy to conclude their days there in whatever way it might be, provided it was in the service of their Lord and Master and for the honor and glory of His Name." [21]

In contrast to this triumphant and glorious page of our religious history we must place also a record of defeat and failure which is well expressed by Mota-Padilla: "It was most likely the chastisement of God that riches were not found on this expedition, because, when this ought to have been the secondary object of the expedition and the conversion of the heathen their first aim, they bartered with fate and struggled after the secondary; and thus the misfortune is not so much that all these labors were without fruit, but the worst is that such a number of souls remained in their blindness." [22]

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[20] Mota-Padilla: *Historia de la Nueva Galicia,* pp. 167-68.
[21] Bandelier: *op. cit.,* p. 565.
[22] Mota-Padilla: *op. cit.,* Chap. XXXIII, p. 166.

DOCUMENTS

FATHER DE SMET'S SIOUX PEACE MISSION OF 1868 AND THE JOURNAL OF CHARLES GALPIN

The career of Pierre Jean De Smet, Jesuit missionary, traveler, author, and picturesque frontier figure (1801-1873), is an important one in the history of governmental dealings with the Indian tribes of the West. In the opinion of his biographers, Hiram Martin Chittenden and Albert Talbot Richardson, the influence he acquired over the Sioux was the greatest ever wielded by any white man, and Thurlow Weed, in introducing him to President Lincoln, wrote: "no white man knows the Indians as Father De Smet, nor has any white man their confidence in the same degree." This influence De Smet capitalized in promoting relations of amity and peace between Indians and whites, his efforts in this direction beginning as early as 1839 and ending only with his death thirty-four years later. As pacificator of hostile Indian groups, the missionary has numerous successes to his credit, his negotiations in this role having been partly private ventures of his own, partly semi-official or even official commissions undertaken at the petition and with the support of government. The Sioux were the particular recipients of his attentions and his missions of 1867 and 1868 to various bellicose bands of that powerful tribe were the most important he ever discharged in the capacity of peace-maker. In 1867 the Secretary of the Interior requested him to proceed as "envoy extraordinary" (in the missionary's words) of the government to various disaffected groups of Plains Indians, most of them Sioux, and endeavor to "bring them back to peace and submission and prevent as much as possible the destruction of property and the murder of the whites." "I have accepted the Government's commission, there being nothing contrary to my duties as a missionary, and with the distinct understanding that I shall not accept any remuneration for my personal services. I prefer to be altogether independent in money matters; my only object is to be of use to the whites and still more to the poor Indians."[1] Father De Smet discharged his commission to the satisfaction of the government, the Secretary of the Interior writing to him: "You will please accept my thanks for the faithful and efficient manner in which you have discharged the duties entrusted to your care."[2]

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[1] Chittenden and Richardson, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre Jean de Smet, S.J.*, 1801-1873, 4v.. New York, 1903, 3:860.

Though De Smet's visit of the summer of 1867 had effected much good in the way of pacifying the Sioux, it did not leave them as a body on friendly terms with the government. There were still distinctly hostile groups among them who constituted a grave menace to the peace of the frontier. These De Smet was anxious to win over and with this end in view he planned another visit to the Sioux country in the summer of 1868. He had been assured by two intimate friends, Charles Galpin and Charles LaFramboise, traders and interpreters at Fort Rice (on the Missouri in the present Morton County, North Dakota) that the Sioux hostiles would welcome a visit from him. Further, he had an assurance from these two traders, who had the entrée to all the Sioux bands, that one of them would accompany him on his mission of peace. His plan was to proceed to Fort Berthold or Fort Rice, there organize a small party of friendly Sioux, and under their escort proceed with his interpreter (De Smet himself was not conversant with Sioux) to the enemy camp, which was in command of Sitting Bull as "Generalissimo," so the missionary calls him, of the disaffected bands. As a surplus of $923.30 left over from the government allowance for his expedition of the preceding year was still in De Smet's hands, he petitioned through General Sherman that a sum be granted him to defray the expenses of the new expedition he now had in mind. "I shall need an interpreter, a small conveyance for my little baggage and provisions, and one man in attendance. On such occasions and whilst there is danger of life, wages are pretty high."[3] De Smet's request was granted, N. G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian affairs writing to him February 27, 1868: "Should the amount above stated not be sufficient to meet your expenses, the Office of Indian Affairs will see that the deficiency is paid upon the presentation of your statement of account."[4]

Father De Smet left St. Louis March 30, 1868, in company with the members of the government Peace Commission, which included Generals Sherman, Sheridan, Harney and Terry, and traveled with them by rail by way of Chicago to Omaha and Cheyenne, at which latter place he left the party to return to Omaha and proceed thence by steamboat to Fort Rice. Here he spent two days interviewing friendly Sioux chiefs and making preparations for his departure. The enterprise seemed an exceedingly rash one to the Indians as well as to the whites, who did not hesitate to predict that it would end in tragedy. De Smet's mind, however, had been made up. He had written to F. F. Gerard, a Sioux trader, before his departure from St. Louis: "My intention is, if I can possibly effect it, to penetrate into the interior among the hostile bands. I know the danger of such a trip. I have no other motives than the welfare of the Indians, and will trust entirely to the kind providence of God."[5] At St. Louis the missionary had engaged the prayers of "thousands of little children" and with this supernatural aid he was confident of coming through the ordeal unscathed. The escort as finally organized consisted of "several of the principle chiefs (including Two Bears, chief of the Yanctonais, and Running Antelope, Unkapapa chief) and eighty warriors representing nearly all the Sioux bands. They went in the double capacity of protecting Father De Smet if need were and persuading their hostile brethren to listen to him."[6]

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[2] *Idem,* 1:92.

[3] *Idem,* 3:893.

[4] *Idem,* 3:897.

As interpreter for De Smet went Charles Galpin, who was accompanied by his Sioux wife, and who had behind him long years of experience as a trader among the upper Missouri tribes.[7] "Mrs. Galpin, a convert to our Holy Religion," writes the missionary, "had great influence among all the tribes of her nation." She was, witnesses General Stanley, "a good Catholic and an excellent person, a striking example of what the influence of religion and civilization can accomplish for the welfare of the Indian."[8] De Smet and Galpin were close friends, the Jesuit interesting himself in the trader's mixed-blood daughter, who was a pupil at a nuns' school in St. Louis. "I see your daughter occasionally at the convent. She is in enjoyment of good health and very much beloved and esteemed by the kind and motherly ladies of the Academy. I intend to pay her a final visit before

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[5] *Idem,* 3:896.

[6] *Idem,* 1:94.

[7] Major Galpin, a native of Pennsylvania, was an Indian trader at Fort Berthold in 1865 and at Fort Rice in 1868.

[8] Chittenden and Richardson, 4:1585.

I leave St. Louis and shall take charge of her commission if she has any to send to her good parents." De Smet to Galpin, March 17, 1868.[9] Galpin died at Grand River, North Dakota, in 1870, much regretted by the Upper Missouri Sioux, who regarded him as one of their best friends.[10]

De Smet's peace expedition set out from Fort Rice June 3, 1868, and was back at the Fort on the 30th of the same month.[11] Its outgoing route was almost due west a distance of approximately 350 miles across what is now lower North Dakota and into eastern Montana. The route followed roughly the course of the Cannonball River to its source, cut the watershed of the Little Missouri of the Grosventres and penetrated into the valley of the Yellowstone to where the Powder River empties into that stream. The Bad Lands region was traversed and much tedious journeying experienced. On June 8 scouts were sent out to locate the hostile camp, which they succeeded in doing, returning on the sixteenth with a deputation of eighteen Sioux warriors. On the nineteenth an imposing body of some four hundred or five hundred Sioux horsemen, headed by the Black Moon, Sitting Bull, the Gall, No Neck, White Gut and other chiefs, met the De Smet party to give them welcome and conduct them to the general headquarters of the hostiles, which was on the right bank of the Yellowstone about four or five miles above the mouth of the Powder River in Prairie County, Montana. "The Reception the Indians gave us," De Smet wrote to the Peace Commissioners June 25 on his way back to Fort Rice, "was one of the grandest I ever witnessed."[12] The council took place on the twentieth. "They [the principal men of the hostile camp] are all unanimous in testifying that the object of our mission has been accomplished. The camp has sent several of their principal men who are now with us to make the final arrangements at Fort Rice."[13] "The hostile camp was left behind on June 21 and on the 30th of June we made our solemn entry into Fort Rice where we were received with demonstrations of the liveliest joy by the peace commissioners, army officers and thousands of Indians who were there assembled."[14] At the peace council at Fort Rice, 50,000 Indians being represented thereat, the Sioux chiefs and principal warriors were in excellent mood and signed the treaty of peace submitted to them. The day following the council, July 3, Generals Harney, Sanborn and Terry, representing the Peace Commissioners, addressed Father De Smet a joint declaration of thanks:

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[9] *Idem,* 3:899.

[10] "He [the Log] tells me to write to you that the death of Mr. Galpin has left him an orphan, that the only hopes of the Indians were in Mr. Galpin and you [De Smet]." *Idem,* 4:1590.

[11] Fort Rice, the site of which is now a State Park, "was built in 1864 by General Sully as a military base during his Indian campaign of that year. It was the first Federal Fort on the Missouri River within the present limits of North Dakota." *N. D. Hist. Coll.,* 6:218.

[12] Chittenden and Richardson, *op. cit.,* 3:921.

[13] *Idem,* 3:920.

Fort Rice, D. T., July 3, 1868

Rev. P. J. DeSmet, S. J.:

Dear Sir.—We the undersigned, the members of the Indian Peace Commission who have been present at the council just terminated at this post, desire to express to you our high appreciation of the great value of the services which you have rendered to us and to the country by your devoted and happily successful efforts to induce the hostile bands to meet us and enter into treaty relations to the Government. We are satisfied that but for your long and painful journey into the heart of the hostile country, and but for the influence over even the most hostile tribes which your years of labor among them have given to you, the results which we have reached here could not have been accomplished. We are well aware that our thanks can be but of little worth to you, and that you will find your true rewards for your labors and for the dangers and privations which you have encountered in the consciousness that you have done much to promote peace on earth and good will to men; but we should do injustice to our own feelings were we not to render to you our thanks and express our deep sense of the obligations under which you have laid us.

We are, Dear Sir,
With sentiments of the highest respect,
Your Very Obedient Servants,
Wm. S. Harney,
Bvt. Mjr.-Gen. & Indian Peace Comr.
John B. Sanborn, Comr.
Alfred H. Terry,
Bvt. Major-General U. S. A. & Comr.[15]

The comment of De Smet's biographers, Chittenden and Richardson, on his peace-mission of 1868, is as follows:

"His achievement was one of the most remarkable in the history of our Indian wars. He was sixty-eight years old and suffering with bodily infirmities which in a few years were to end fatally. He made a journey of 350 miles through a rough and unknown country to a large force of Indians who had sworn death to any white man who might fall within their power. There was no other man who could approach them. Yet by virtue of his great reputation among all the tribes, their absolute faith in his word and their belief that he had their interests at heart, and, we may add, his devout trust in the Lord whom he served, he did this remarkable thing, and brought about a peace in the most hateful and difficult situation that our Government has been called upon to face in all its troubles with the Indians. The commissioners formally acknowledged that, but for Father DeSmet, their work would have been a failure."[16]

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[14] *Idem,* 3:920.
[15] *Idem,* 3:921.

Curiously enough, no mention of De Smet's dealings with the Sioux in 1868 is to be found in the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for that year, nor is reference made therein to the meeting of the Sioux chiefs with the Peace Commissioners at Fort Rice.

De Smet's peace negotiations with Sitting Bull were paralleled at a later period by another Catholic Sioux missionary, the Frenchman, Jean Baptiste Marie Genin (1837-1899), whose interesting career has been sketched by Linda W. Slaughter, "Leaves from Northwestern History," *North Dakota Historical Collection,* 1:200-292. The efforts of Father Genin, adopted as nephew of Black Moon and brother of Sitting Bull under the name of the Black Gown, led, according to the writer, "to the retirement from the region of North Dakota of Sitting Bull and his hordes to the Woody Mountain region in the Northwest, and the consequent settlement of the territory of Dakota by the whites" (1:273). Genin visited Sitting Bull's camp after the Custer massacre, obtained from him an account of that affair and sought (1877) to be authorized to deal with the Indian leader in the government's name, but without result. According to Genin's story as embodied in the above cited article in the *North Dakota Historical Collection* the *Chicago Tribune* also offered to send a representative to Sitting Bull's camp and induce him to return with his band to the reservation, stipulating that Father Genin was to accompany its representative. This offer was likewise declined by the government.[17]

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[16] *Idem,* 1:102.

[17] Sitting Bull, (his original and real name was Sitting Buffalo), was apparently not a Catholic although sympathetic towards that church. "While he [Sitting Bull] had a certain amount of respect for the Protestant religion, he feared an occult power in the Catholic Church and his opposition to it gave him uneasy qualms. He had once received Catholic baptism and the thought of that baptism never forsook him. A certain reverend father thinks I am wrong in this, but I am not." Aaron McGaffney Beebe, Ph. D., one-time Episcopalian clergyman, in his drama, *Sitting Bull-Custer,* Bismark, N. D., 1913, p. 45. The Catholic Sioux missionary, Father Genin, quotes Sitting Bull as saying to him: "I assure you I am saying my prayers every night and morning the best way I know, and I never do anything without prayer. I desire to be baptized in the Catholic Religion, I and all my children and people." *N. Dak. Hist. Coll.,* 1:280. Genin's account implies that Sitting Bull did not actually become a Catholic.

The following hitherto unpublished journal of the De Smet-Sioux Mission of 1868 became available under peculiar circumstances. Compiled by the interpreter of the peace mission, Charles Galpin, and written presumably in his own hand, it found its way to one of the Jesuit houses in Belgium, having apparently been left there by De Smet on the occasion of his last or last but one European trip. It remained there until the summer of 1924 when it was found (in a collection of De Smetiana) by the writer of the present introduction, who with due authorization brought it back to this country where it is now in the library of St. Louis University. A comparison of De Smet's journal (Chittenden and Richardson, 3:903-921) of the 1868 mission with Galpin's indicates that he drew in several places on his interpreter's account in compiling his own. On the whole Galpin confines himself rigidly to a bare statement of facts while the missionary's text, which was carefully prepared for publication, shows much literary embellishment.

The printer's copy of the journal, accurately typed from the original Ms., was prepared by Walter Crane, S. J., A. M., St. John's College, Toledo, O. Except in a few cases the author's punctuation has been preserved.

Gilbert J. Garraghan

CHARLES GALPIN'S JOURNAL

Wednesday, June 3rd 1/68

Early in the morning we had made every preparation for long journey. The Rev'd Father DeSmet then assembled all who were to accompany us, formed a circle, then offered one of the most impressive and appropriate prayers for the occasion. At 7 A. M. we made a start. Besides myself and Father DeSmet was an escort of eighty friendly Upper and Lower Yanctonaix, Cut Hand, Blackfeet and Unkapapa Indians. After traveling twenty-two miles, we formed camp on the north bank of Cannon Ball River. The surrounding country is very undulating, but is covered with luxuriant grass. The roads were very bad for wagons. Some of the party came in with two fine Antelope, a welcome addition to our larder. Had quite a shower during the day accompanied with wind. At 8 P. M. we were quietly settled down. All seemed contented. Some were preparing their couches from the boughs of small cottonwood. Others, preparing to give contentment to the inner man, were occupied in cooking their supper.

THURSDAY 4TH

After passing a pleasant night, we soon got everything in readiness for another day's travel. At 6 A. M. we were on the move, taking a westerly course. The roads rendered soft by yesterday's rain, made it very heavy for our wagons. Continued on, stopping only to allow the animals rest. The Indians would then form groups, bring forth the never-forgotten pipe, and enjoy the halt, joking, and smoking, among themselves. The face of the country, same as yesterday. The frequent showers seemed to have put a new dress on the earth, the grass looked as if it had new life, and the variety of beautiful flowers "passed during the days," were waving to and fro with the gentle breeze, as if kissing their mother-earth rejoicing in a new existence. The Indians I kept in advance for the purpose of obtaining fresh meat. Were very successful, having killed eight Antelope. They could not arrive at a better time. We were just locating our camp and were ready to devour anything in shape of eatables. Selected a suitable spot to camp twenty-eight miles from our last. Water is abundant, mostly found in small ponds and holes. The Box Elder, Elm and Wild Cherry is found along the Creeks and Rivers. The country is gradually becoming more level as we advance. Weather cloudy, some appearance of rain. Our Camp is on Three Bute Creek.

FRIDAY 5TH

The Indians passed the night councilling among themselves, a dispatch having arrived, stating, that provisions had been distributed to the families, this causing a great deal of talk. At 5:30 A. M. we broke Camp. After having gotten fully under way, we were overtaken by a heavy rain; it poured in perfect torrents. As we were too far advanced to return to our old Camp and no wood to be found, we were compelled to pursue our way through the flood, to the Sand Butes, making twenty-two miles under the most unfavorable circumstances. The Indians with their wet robes and blankets, looked more like denizens of another world, than human beings, but still cheerful. Two Bears, chief of the Yanctonaix, had formed his camp when the wagons came up, which was not altogether as desirable a place as could be wished, taking the weather in consideration. Running Antelope of the Unkapapas, wished to proceed and select a more desirable spot. After having some sharp words, Antelope went about one half mile farther and camped. Father DeSmet seemed very anxious to learn what was the matter. After having fairly settled down for the day, I cheerfully told him all the particulars. We soon found a plan to settle all difficulties, and give satisfaction to all. He had a large kettle of rice boiled and well sugared, then called each party to his tent to partake of the feast, also gave them a few kind and encouraging words, after which they only treated it in a joking manner. The weather cleared up in the afternoon. We once more are dry and contented. Father DeSmet seems a little fatigued, but, always cheerful. Grass and water in abundance. Timber scarce. Our course has been due west all day.

SATURDAY 6TH

With the dawn we were up, and on our way. Being on the very highest of the plauteau, the roads are quite level, the weather bids fair to be pleasant, and we are in hopes of making a good day's journey. At 1:30 P. M. we camped on the head of Sand Creek, a branch of the Cannon Ball. Innumerable quantities of antelope were seen in all direction. Our hunters brought in ten fine ones. We have every prospect of having a plenty of meat, which is a great encouragement to the Indians. Give them plenty of meat, and they are happy. Saw the remains of large petrified stumps. Had another shower late in the afternoon. Our course has been due west. Traveled thirty-five miles. Father DeSmet seems more cheerful, and bears fatigue better than he did the first two days.

SUNDAY 7TH

In consequence of illness of myself, we remained in camp all day, much to my regret, for the day being fine we could have left several miles between our camps. The young men passed away their time in fishing, smoking and sleeping. Two Bears made a speech to them, on the great merits of the expedition. He spoke most earnestly, that favorable results might ensue. And cautioned them in regard to their future course. And said, above all things let us do our best to do something while with this good man (Father DeSmet) to show him, we are, at least, deserving of a portion of his kindness. Let every one of us bear in mind, how much we owe him, and how poorly we are prepared to pay, therefore let each and everyone's thoughts be nothing else but peace. Let us act the part of men, and listen to his good words. After entertaining us by singing about an hour he dismissed his people. Running Antelope made a speech of the same nature; but with more enthusiasm, if not equal sincerity.

MONDAY 8TH

A little after six we were off again. Yesterday's rest seemed to have revived our spirits, and with the fine weather and bracing air, we had every hope of passing over several miles. We crossed Sand Creek, which is a beautiful little stream. After making about thirty miles, we camped at 2 P. M. Father DeSmet called a council, he requested that four men should proceed to the camp and inform them of our coming, then meet us on our way. They coincided with his wishes. The Log, Fire Cloud, Little Dog and Setting Crow were the ones chosen. They at once made preparations to start in the morning. At our last camp, Father DeSmet cut his name on a rock and made the sign of the cross, I explained it to the Indians, it pleased them very much. The Two Bears then discoursed to his men on the importance of our mission, and requested them, to relate the words of the Medicine Man "Verbatum et verbatum." Which were as follows—viz I have come my brothers among you, as I had promised you all last summer and which I also apprised you of several times during the winter. I am now with you. I come, not as a servant of man, but of God; and, as a servant of him my great desire is, to do all good I can to fellow men. Your Great Father and the Whites mean you no harm. The president wishes peace with all mankind, and I am sure the Great Spirit does. Tell your people, the troubles past can easily be settled, but, the past must be forgotten, and better and wiser plans adopted for the future. The Great men of the Whites, now waiting at the Fort to meet with you, are men like yourselves and are men of wise minds and deep thoughts, let us then meet them as they desire, and have the past troubles veiled: You shall have the benefit of my councils, etc. There is no lack of water and grass. We traveled over a high and level plateau, the soil is sandy with no change in its productions; the same varieties of flowers are seen. Wood is scarce. Our hunters still bring plenty of fresh meat. Horse-racing was the sport of the day with the Indians.

TUESDAY 9TH

We made as early start as usual, and are again blessed with fine weather, but with rather heavy roads. As some majestic giant to dispute our passage, we could see in the far distance, the peaks of the Rain Bute, gradually becoming more distinct as we advanced, rising from the banks of the Cannon Ball. It derives its name from the vapory appearance it presents to the eye. In the distance it resembles masses of clouds, separated by partial openings. It was truly a welcome and majestic view to us, who had seen nought but one unbroken appearance to all the country we had traveled over, or one level sameness that was not at all interesting. Today the soil seems more impregnated with clay, the pools give every indication of it. At 2 P. M. we camped within eight miles of Rain Bute, having come due west, thirty-two miles. Our delegation to the camp started at break of day. A council was held during the night, the Indians came to the conclusion that with more men, there is more wisdom, saying or meaning, ten heads are superior to four, therefore, our delegation consisted of the larger number. Our camp is quite near if not on the very source of the Cannon Ball River, about one hundred and sixty miles from its mouth. Petrified stumps and pieces of wood were plentiful, with a good supply of Pomice Stone, also, fine specimens of Lava, with every indication of recent burnings and crossing out of the lignite beds. We made a due west course today, making about thirty-two miles. We camped about eight miles from Rain Bute. An amusing incident occurred, which created some merriment. Blue Thunder one of the Indian teamsters, came to the tent with a woeful face, announcing his intention to return to the fort. When questioned as to this strange proceeding: he stated that, someone had accused him of stealing a leather sack, containing an antelope paunch. He seemed very indignant, at having his character trifled with. His swollen face did not present a very pleasing appearance. Anger had changed his countenance. Father DeSmet told him that he had seen many an innocent man accused wrongfully, and recommended a good night's sleep, as a soother of such wrong.

WEDNESDAY 10TH

At our usual hour we were again on our way, taking a direct course for Rain Bute, which appeared to be about four miles from camp. We reached its base at 10:30 o'clock, having traveled at least twelve miles, it being the warmest day of the "Season, anyhow the warmest since we left Rice," we came to a halt, after three hours rest we were up and away again. Whilst passing the Bute I hurriedly cut my name in the rock, which perhaps, may serve as a landmark to the traveler over the vast ocean of Prairie. At the base was every indication of iron, it seemed to be composed of soft sandstone. I should judge their altitude to be about 4,500 feet above the level of the ocean. We found very little timber, nothing but the wild cherry and June berry-bush. The soil is light and sandy, almost devoid of vegetation. As we proceeded on our way the white tops of the Butes of the same name gradually became more and more distinct, resembling drifts of snow. After a journey of sixteen miles, we camped about eight from the Butes, on an open prairie without a tree or bush to be seen. Antelope still hold out, daily, since we started we have had eight or ten. The Indians used Buffalo Chips in the place of wood for their fires. Whilst cooking their meal they passed time relating various adventures. Mosquitoes have made their appearance for the first time. Another incident occurred too, but of more superstitious character than the one of yesterday. One young man came to the tent much alarmed. He said a drop of blood fell from the heavens upon his hand. Father DeSmet explained to him the cause, at which he went away satisfied. As he looked upon it as a bad omen before he knew it was a mosquito bite. Some appearance of more rain.

THURSDAY 11TH

Six o'clock saw us on our way again, in a dense fog. The Two Bears said he was the only man in the party, if not in the world, who could travel by night, or in a fog, and requested that he should lead the party. If he failed, he would give up his dinner, but on the contrary, he should expect a pot of coffee and as many hard-tack as the party could well dispose of. So on we went, through the mud, several miles. A slight breeze cleared the mist away, and unfolded to our view the White Butes on the left, and a beautiful lake between. As we advanced I saw that my lake was composed of sand, in the Spring it is covered with water. After the water from summer-heats evaporates, it leaves a bed of beautiful white sand, which in the distance may be taken for water. When the fog had cleared enough we were gratified to find the Two Bears had been as good as his word, and brought us to the very desired point. We could see in the distance, bodies of timber on the Burning River. It takes its name from constant burnings of the lignite beds. The Indians say it was burning thirty years ago, just as now. Some of the branches of the river head on the west side of White Butes, where but little wood is to be found, and water only in mid-summer. The main bed is some sixty feet wide, and composed of coarser sand, very unlike any we have passed. The surrounding hills for miles resemble dilapidated brick kilns. Vegetation of the worst order. The country presents a desolate appearance. Petrified wood found in great quantities, here and there are seen burnt cinders, and great quantities of lava scattered in all directions. The Burning River empties into the Missouri de Gross Ventre [Little Missouri]. At noon we came to a halt, after covering about twenty-two miles due west. The weather being warm, we traveled farther than we anticipated at the start. Our camp this time is on Box Elder Creek, which also heads in the White Butes, and empties into the Missouri de Gross Ventre. Our hunting party as lucky as usual, several more antelope were brought in. A fine elk jumped out of the bushes near us; but made his escape. The White Ghost one of the party, who by the way has been one of the prominent ones engaged in hostilities against the Whites, and who is considered one of the bravest of the tribe, came to the tent in the evening, coldly put forth his hand to Father DeSmet, said, "Sir, since we left I have been studying you. I have made up my mind that you are a great and good man, and withal a very brave one. As I have always thought well of the brave, it does my heart good to look at you. Hear my intentions." He spoke a few minutes in relation to Indian affairs and the Mission, with great clearness. He then shook Father DeSmet heartily by the hand and retired. We made preparations for our night's repose, and followed his example.

FRIDAY 12TH

We had a good rest and broke camp little earlier than usual. At noon we again formed camp on the Little Missouri de Gross Ventre, which was quite high from recent rains. The road was very good, from our last camp; it graduates to the river; it seems to be a natural pass; on the north side it was pretty much the same, gradually rising as you advance. The crossing is very good. To the south of us, lay a beautiful prairie surrounded by high bluffs. A few scattering pines, of a scanty growth are seen in different places. The view of the opposite hills was indeed sublime, they stretched up and down the stream as far as the eye could penetrate. The timber on the river at the crossing is thin, but far to the northward could be seen the caps of large bodies of pine timber. The river bottom is full of quick sands, to its source in the Black Hills, 750 miles. After we were fairly settled down for the day, the young braves gathered in a circle, singing anthems to the spirit of a departed friend who was killed on this spot by a Crow Warrior. I will relate the story as it was told me. A noted Crow Warrior, "He who has lost his mother" by name, was wounded by the Sioux; after a desperate fight, he was killed, but not before killing one of his enemies, and wounding two others. The remains of the Sioux were placed upon a scaffold, as the Indian mode of disposing of their dead. The bones of the Great Crow Warrior who was for a long time the terror of the Sioux, lie scattered about on the ground bleaching in the sun of an enemies' country. Thus have I explained the cause of the singing and mourning.

Twe Bears, Running Antelope, Mad Bear and several others with the Young Rib called at the tent and had a lengthy conversation with Father DeSmet, who told them several anecdotes about the Whites, and the wonders he had seen, whilst traveling through different countries. It had a very good effect. They all shook hands with him before leaving, and bade him feel cheerful over his toilsome journey.

SATURDAY 13TH

At sunrise we had our animals packed, horses harnessed, ready to cross the river. The Indians had to take our baggage on their backs, it being too high to allow loaded wagons pass. We had no trouble, and in a short time reached the opposite bank, and on our winding way through the hills and vales of the Missouri de Gross Ventre, we found the ascent much better than was expected. After reaching the level prairie, we traveled until 11 o'clock, having made only eight miles; then came to a halt. Plenty of good grass, but scarcity of water. We were able to find just enough for our use. All are anxiously looking for the messengers we sent to the Camp; they should be back today. The Strong Heart Band gave a feast, and entertained us by their singing at the top of their voices. The heat is almost insufferable. Father DeSmet shows more fatigue today than at any time before. The country appears more desolate; as far as the eye can reach, not a living thing is to be seen; desolation reigns supreme. Saw several rattlesnakes, of a bright yellow color, between three and four feet long. The sun went down, but no news from our party. What can be the matter?

SUNDAY 14TH

At 5 o'clock we left our prairie Camp. Traveled over a gently undulating plain, which gave it the appearance of a vast ocean upheaved by a storm. We could see far to the northward the Two Butes called by the Indians "the hills that look at each other," also the Rose Bute towering far into the heavens, with the moist or vapor collected around it, looked like vast masses of clouds. At 1 P. M. we camped on Little Bear Creek, a fine running stream, and well wooded, with Box Elder and Ash. The bottoms are wider and richer than any we have seen, covered with a most luxuriant growth of grass. This stream from its source to where it empties into the Little Missouri, is one hundred miles. Made thirty miles, weather very warm. Still we are anxiously looking for runners, the prairie was set on fire as a signal for our whereabouts. Another sun has set, yet we are waiting for some news; great anxiety is felt; perhaps the Camp has been moved further west, and we not be able to find it. The Two Bears spoke for about half an hour, begging them in the name of the Great Spirit to not be disheartened, but to take courage that the mission was full of the best omens for their future welfare. Said he: "Should we fail in assisting this good man in the great desire of his heart, which I know is none other than to wrench the thorn of hatred toward the whites from our bosoms, we would endanger our future peace and happiness. I am getting old, and do not fear to die, but one thing I do fear that our children after us may suffer for our unpardonable faults. The great Father has repeatedly told us he wished us well, and has wanted us to make peace. Have we listened to his words? Only a portion of us have; the balance seem deaf to all that is good. I hope they will hear this time, for something seems to tell that this is the last opportunity they will have; it is clearly more than we deserve. May the Great Spirit, through the wisdom and goodness of this good man, now toiling with us, open our ears that we may listen to his words, and our country and people be saved."

MONDAY 15TH

Remained in Camp all day. Sent out runners in different directions, hoping to meet some of our party on their return. All of them came back without seeing them. We are now apprehensive that the Camp has been moved west to the Powder River Mountains. The first deer was killed today. We subsist almost entirely on fresh meat.

TUESDAY 16TH

Early in the morning we moved on a fork of Beaver Creek, there to await the return of our messengers. At 2:30 P. M. we were gladened by a sight of them, with eighteen men, sent as delegation from their camp which was in Powder River. The Chiefs and braves sent word they would meet us with open arms, and that since their recollection no one could say they had ever treated a peace commission with contempt, or had ever given them ought but kind words. Our hearts welcome you. The Sitting Bull sent a friendly message to Father DeSmet. All were now cheerful. After a short time the delegation formed a circle, then sent for Father DeSmet. One of them spoke in the name of the Chiefs, who had sent him. Said he: "I am well formed by nature, half soldier and half chief. I fear not to meet my enemies in the field, in the Camp I fear not. I and my comrades have come to see, and shake you by the hand, and are happy to meet you, and hear your good words, though they have preceeded you many months, they have made our hearts feel glad. I hope you will have the good fortune to hear the same, from our people. You shall have water to drink and meat to eat, and return with your heart full of gladness. Your coming seems like a dream. We can hardly realize or understand this unexpected meeting. This all I have to say." They all repaired to Running Antelope's tent where a feast was prepared for them. After eating and drinking until dark they sang their song of joy. All of this conjured up strange thoughts to me in the far off lands of the Dacotahs. Hardly had their voices died away ere the howling of the wolf, the hooting of the owl, was wafted by the gentle breeze to my ears. A strange medley, the only sound breaking the stillness of the tomb. Father De Smet procured a fine specimen of the Sage hen.

WEDNESDAY 17TH

Broke Camp at 4:30 o'clock, pushed up to the heights that divide the waters of the Yellowstone from those of the Little Missouri de Gross Ventre. About ten miles from last Camp, from these heights we beheld the most desolate country that imagination could picture. Away in front, and far below us perhaps 500 feet not a living creature could be seen to animate the aspect of the dreary waste; like the bed of some vast lake, or sea, it lay before us. We struck the Cottonwood at its very source, a very appropriate name, from the quantities of the timber on it. The hills are covered with cedar and some pine, here and there. After a hard struggle among the hills we reached the river bottom, which was covered with cactus; little other vegetation could be found. We continued our journey until one o'clock, first one side of the bottom, then the other. Timber becomes more abundant, and of better growth. Made twenty-five miles. Our visitors from the Camp are rather wild, and hardly know what to make of our visit.

THURSDAY 18TH

At an early hour we were off again, following the Cottonwood until 10 o'clock, then taking a due west course toward the Yellowstone. Crossed several streams, tributaries of the Cotton Wood River. After twenty-five miles traveling with little or no water we were gratified to find ourselves on Sage Creek where there was an abundance, with plenty of grass. At 3 P. M. we camped on the above mentioned Creek, which is about five miles from the Yellowstone River. We are all cheerful, and hope to reach the end of our long journey by 10 tomorrow morning. Several of the newcomers have gone on ahead to announce our coming.

FRIDAY 19TH

Started at the usual hour. Had good roads over a high prairie. About twelve miles from camp we came in sight of Powder River; it presented a beautiful view. About 8 miles below it empties into the Yellowstone. Our eyes caught sight of a solid mass of moving objects. After looking through a glass found the objects to be a body of about five hundred warriors, fancifully dressed in their war costumes. They were headed by Four Horns and Black Moon, deputised to meet and welcome us, by the Chiefs of the Unkapapa Camp. On we went with our small party of braves. We move slowly to within a half mile of the main column, when they stopped and went through some of their war manoevers, scattering in all directions, then circling around the main body, etc. All at once four dashing fellows with their bows and arrows and other arms, came towards us. We halted to wait for them. Suddenly they rushed forward as if charging; three went straight to Father DeSmet and took him by the hand; the fourth merely waved his hand, then dashed passed us at full speed. They made a circle of our little band, and returned to the main body. We unfurled our flag, then resumed our march for about one half mile. Were thus met by the brother of Four Horns and the principal braves, who shook hands. They placed themselves in front of us. After a general salutation we moved on. They formed a complete guard around us; we went to the Camp, which was about four miles distant, in complete order. They took us into the very center. Sitting Bull ordered our baggage to be put into his Lodge. The curious crowd began to swarm around us, the camp soldiers, as they were called, were ordered to dismiss them. The Sitting Bull said that when he first saw us with the flag his heart fluttered, he bade it be quiet, and now he had learned it was the flag of peace, he felt and understood. He then told the braves to take charge of us, see that we had plenty to eat and drink, and not under any circumstances to allow either of us to go far from the lodges; also look to the safety of our animals, etc. Mrs. Galpin was called to every lodge in the village and was treated with great respect and kindness. At sunset the Black Moon, Four Horns and Sitting Bull entered the lodge, and ordered twenty braves to take the places of the ones that had passed the day with us. The three spent the night with us.

SATURDAY 20TH

At daybreak they ordered all the lodges to be placed together so all could be present at the council. At ten everything was in readiness. The Indians began to assemble, and 1 P. M. the Rev'd. DeSmet was escorted to a spot in the center where four buffalo robes had been spread for seats. The Four Horns and Black Moon sat in front of us with their pipes, the Sitting Bull, White Gut, Gaul [Gall] and No Neck were seated in front of their warriors, about five hundred in number, the balance of the space, about half acre, was covered with men, women and children, in all about four thousand. After a great of dancing and singing, quiet was restored. The Black Moon then said they were ready to hear what the medicine man had to say. After a short and appropriate prayer Father DeSmet said: "Friends, I have been trying to see you for the last two years; and this day, through the help of God, I now have that pleasure. I hope you will listen well to what you hear from my mouth—which speaks the sentiments of my head, which will be entirely upon the importance of your making peace with the Whites. This cruel and unfortunate war must be stopped, not only on the account of your children, but for a thousand other reasons, which the great man [men?] 'the President of the Whites has chosen to meet you at Rice' will show. I have come as an adviser, to aid you all I can, knowing your Great Father means you well and will help you. I now, in the name of the Great Spirit, and in the name of all good, in the presence of your chiefs and braves, and all assembled [Ms.?] solemnly beseech you, one and all, to bury all your animosities against the Whites,—forget the past—and accept the offering of peace, which is now kindly sent you. My mission to your village is now completed with one exception. I have brought you tobacco to smoke, which you will accept, as an assurance of the truthfulness of my sentiments. I will now thank you for your kind reception of myself and party. And with all my heart will I ever pray for your future happiness." The flag we brought was put up in the middle of the circle. He then said: "The flag that now stands in the center of this circle is the holy emblem of peace. And I am most happy to have it said that it is the only one that has ever been carried so far; but on this occasion I deemed it most necessary, and now will leave it in the hands of your chiefs that you may regard it as a token of my sincerity and good wishes for the welfare of the Sioux Nation. I pray to God you will look upon it as a blessing to your tribe, it is to Him you must look to for all blessings, and from Him all blessings flow. And while you live let it not be said you had evil thoughts; for evil thoughts and doings bring troubles in your land. I will always do, as I have always done, continue to offer my feeble prayers for your good, but remember peace must reign in your land. I will now listen to your words.—

The Black Moon then arose with pipe in hand, and said: "Listen well to what I say,—addressing his people,—raised his pipe toward the heavens, pointed it to earth, then said to the Rev'd Father, touch it to your lips and let your hand rest after doing

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[1] This, according to De Smet (Chittenden and Richardson, 3:910) was not a United States flag but a religious banner "with the holy name of Jesus on one side and on the other the image of the holy Virgin Mary, surrounded with gilt stars."

so, said, this man has come for to meet us, he looks fatigued and careworn. I am glad to see him and welcome him with all my heart. His words are good and full of meaning and truth. He speaks well and everything he says is my heart's desire, but there are many thorns in our bosoms, many sores to heal. Our country is desolate and impoverished by a cruel war, which was commenced by the Cheyennes and Eastern Sioux. It was forced upon us, and now, when we travel over our country, we frequently see red spots, but they are not the red spots of the slaughtered buffalo, but of your fellow comrades, or the White man. Our country was full of game but since the war the animals seem to detest their native haunts and I believe it is in consequence of the smell of human blood that they are driven away. Again, the Whites have been cutting our country up with roads, and building forts at various places. They frequently and unkindly put our people in prison for little or no cause. They cut our timber, ruin our country with impunity. I told them I did not want annuities, nor would I sell the country. My father lived and died here, so would I, and if our white brethren would do right we would never have had war. I always liked to have goods to trade, but I can't hear the idea of having the country filled with white men. Some are good, a great many are bad, and frequently treat us badly. Our people are often shot down by travelers over the plains while they were seeking food for their families. And for no cause we have been badly treated, but of these things past I now hope will be forgotten from this day. I will say no more but conclude my remarks by thanking you, in the hearing of all my people for the welcome news you have so kindly brought. We will accept your tobacco, and kind advice, and extend our hands in the presence of the Great Spirit and all of you, as the hands of peace." Then turning to the Assembly, "Let the past be forgotten," and retired.

The Sitting Bull came boldly forward, and after going through the usual ceremonies with great dignity and due respect, said: "Father you pray to the Great Spirit for us, I thank you. I have often beseeched the kindness of the Great Spirit, never have I done so more earnestly than this day, and that our words may be heard above and on all the earth. When I first saw you coming my heart beat wildly, and I had evil thoughts caused by the remembrance of the past. I bade it be quiet—it was so! And when on the prairie I shook hands with you and my cousin and sister, I felt changed and hardly knew what to say, but my heart was glad and quickly scouted deception. I am and always have been a fool and a warrior, my people caused me to be so. They have been troubled and confused by the past, they look upon their troubles as coming from the Whites and become crazy, and pushed me forward. For the last five years I have led them in bad deeds; the fault is theirs, not mine. I will now say in their presence, welcome father—the messenger of peace. I hope quiet will again be restored to our country. As I am not full of words I will thank you in the hearing of the Chief and braves, for your kindness and willingly accept the tobacco as a token of peace, hoping you will always wish us well. I have now told you all. All that can be, has been said. My people will return to meet the Chiefs of our Great Father, who wants to make peace with us. I hope it will be done, and whatever is done by others, I will submit to, and for all time to come be a friend of the Whites. After shaking us by the hand, he took his seat; then turned to his people, and asked if they heard his words, how, how, how, was the response. He soon came forward again and said he had forgotten two things. One was he wished all to know that he did not propose to sell any of his lands to the Whites, nor did he wish them to cut his timber, particularly the Oak. He loved to look upon the groves of Oak and felt a reverence for them. They stand wintry storms and summer heats, and like ourselves seem to flourish by them. Shook hands again, and sat down, amid the cheers of young and old. After a few minutes quiet was restored, and the Two Bears came forward, and said: "Friends, I heard of the coming of this good man months ago and hearing it, was at once ready to welcome him to my country on the East side of the Missouri, where I was born and raised. As our country is common to all, I have come with him not only to see some of the old comrades I traveled the warpath with, but to hear you talk, and see how you treat this, in my opinion, our best friend. The Whites love and respect him, so do I, and my people. I pray to the Great Spirit that I may always do so. I wish you to hear what I say, and I mean it all. I do not come here to beg you any favors upon the strength of our relationship, but I am here with a few of our chiefs and braves who represent a large portion of the Sioux Nation, some seven hundred lodges, to tell you that our minds are made up to follow his advice and be guided by the men sent by the President to accomplish something definite for our future good. I have listened with attention to what you have said in this, the greatest council ever held in our country. I say the greatest, because headed by this best of men and four of the great chiefs of the Whites. It cannot mean other than for our future good and prosperity. I tell you now, one and all, my mind is made up. I shall follow the medicine man's advice, and accept the offering of peace so kindly sent you by our Great Father. I was troubled and perplexed with the various reports from you for the last two years. Seeing that you all hear and having heard you all talk, and treat this party so kindly, I will thank you one and all for your wise conclusion. I shall leave with a heart full of joy, with hopes you may ever continue to be friends with the Whites, and that this cruel war that has so long been hanging around us will soon be over. I now thank this Good Man, and raise my hands to the Great Spirit that he may pity and guide us through our future life."

Running Antelope, Unkapapa, spoke as follows: "Friends and relations, I have today heard with pleasure your good words to this Good Man, who for the last three months has been traveling for no other purpose than to bring blessings upon our people and restore quiet to our country which you all seem to care so much for. For my part I have been listening to the good words of the Whites for many years and particularly so since the troubles are caused more by the Santees than ourselves; but now is no time to talk of what has passed, but the time to speak about the future. I have seen you many times since our difficulties and have always talked as I am doing now. On leaving the fort I had made up my mind to once more ask you to make peace with the Whites, that is why you see me here today. But as the request is not necessary you having with your own good will acted without need of council, all that now remains for me to say is to thank you for the kind attention shown to this medicine man and party. As for myself, I am one of you, and can candidly say that this day's council has given me more pleasure than I have experienced for many years. I return to our Camp at the Fort, with a light and glad heart, and when with the men of our Great Father I shall talk as you have talked. When all our troubles will be settled, which I hope will be soon, then will I turn my eyes upon you and watch that you are faithful to your promises, made this day before the Great Spirit and the flag of peace that is now, and will be, left here to remind you of what you have said to the best friend of your race. Four Horns, Black Moon, Sitting Bull, Gaul [Gall], Gut, Bull Owl and all others, you have by your words and good promises set an example to all other nations. Now look well to your young men and often remind them that the course pointed out by this Good Man is the truthful and only safe assurance of our future happiness. The young men that go with us to meet the Whites shall not return displeased. I shall make peace and hope I will never break it.

At this stage the council broke up, and we returned to our lodges, amid great shouting, singing and dancing. The very earth seemed to tremble. Late in the afternoon we commenced putting our little effects into order, preparatory to our departure in the morning. The same caution and attention was shown us. The Chiefs again passed the night with us. At a late hour we were somewhat alarmed by a great yelling and the firing of a gun in close proximity to our lodge. On inquiry we found it caused by a mule trying to kill a colt. As it could not be driven off with clubs they had to use extreme measures; thus the firing of the gun which resulted in the death of the mule. The owner of the mule, an old woman, came to the scene. After learning her loss, set up a mournful cry which more than ever alarmed the Camp. After a while the cause of the alarm was known to all, when they indulged in a good laugh and sang and enjoyed themselves till morning.

SUNDAY 21ST

At 4:30 A. M. everything was ready for our homeward journey. On informing our entertainer that we were ready to start he sent an escort as far as Powder River and accompanied them to that point where we halted. After making a short speech he reminded his people what he had said he would do the day previous, then left us after shaking hands. Traveled until two o'clock returning by same road we came. Weather very warm.

MONDAY 22ND

Left camp early and crossed over to the Cottonwood. Halted at 2 P. M. Very warm, and roads bad. All hands rejoicing to be homeward bound. As you [DeSmet] kept record of our coming back I did not, hence have X [crossed] out the first day's start.

Truly yours, Galpin

NEWS AND COMMENTS

Joseph Thompson, first editor (1918-1927) of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* subsequently MID-AMERICA, died at St. Francis Hospital, Evanston, Illinois, June 27, 1930. Burial was from the family home, 6323 Wayne Ave., Chicago, funeral services were held at St. Gertrude's church in that city and interment was at Mr. Thompson's home town, Alexis, Illinois (near Bloomington), where he was born in 1868. He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Mary Josephine Thompson, and four daughters, Mrs. E. L. Mundy, of Mount Vernon, New York, Mrs. John L. Enright, Mrs. Gordon Clark, and Miss Noelle Thompson.

Mr. Thompson was a lawyer by profession, giving particular attention to insurance law, in which he became a recognized expert, as was evidenced by his appointment as Illinois State Insurance Commissioner, while in 1914 he brought out an important volume on Personal Insurance, which was published by Loyola University Press. For some years prior to his death he had been Assistant Corporation Counsel in the legal department of the Chicago Board of Local Improvements, in which post, owing to his intimate acquaintance with municipal law, he was retained through successive changes of administration.

Mr. Thompson became interested in his earlier manhood in the Knights of Columbus and all through his lifetime was actively concerned with the affairs of that great Catholic lay-body. Together with other enthusiastic associates he set on foot Bloomington Council, K. of C., and became its first Grand Knight, in which position he served five successive terms. His activities in promoting the interests of the order eventually brought him recognition that was state-wide with the result that he was elected State Deputy of the Knights of Columbus in Illinois. He compiled a history of the order in Illinois, at the time of his demise had been editor for a quarter of a century of the *Columbian,* organ of the Chicago councils of the Knights, and only a few weeks before the end spoke before his own council with a vigor which declining health had seemingly done little to impair.

Apart from his professional interests as legal adviser in insurance and municipal law and his life-long participation in Knights of Columbus affairs, Mr. Thompson's career disclosed a phase which is of particular interest to readers of MID-AMERICA. This was his long sustained and effective interest in Illinois history, especially on its Catholic side. At a meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society in 1917 he presented a paper under the caption "The Penalties of Patriotism." This was a discussion of the ill-requited services rendered to the cause of American Independence by four great Illinois figures, George Rogers Clark, Arthur St. Clair, Francis Vigo, and Pierre Gibault. The impression made by Mr. Thompson's paper, which was circulated as a reprint, was an excellent one on all sides, and in 1918 Father Frederic Siedenburg, S. J., to whose enterprise was due the organization of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society and the inception of a quarterly review as its official organ, offered him the editorship of the new magazine. This he accepted, the initial issue of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* appearing in July, 1918. From the first, Father Siedenburg and Mr. Thompson made efforts to enlist the best historical talent in the service of the *Review*. As an instance of their success in that direction, it may be noted that the initial issue carried an article, as encouraging as it was illuminating, on Catholic sources of Illinois history from the pen of the late Dr. Clarence Walworth Alvord, probably the most outstanding historian which the Middle West has produced. Nothing happier could have been written to open up to students and readers the possibilities of Catholic historiography in the American West and to stress the importance of the task which the new *Review* undertook to discharge. Mr. Thompson's contributions to the *Review,* which were numerous, fell largely into two groups, one on the career of Father Gibault, and the other on Illinois history of the Colonial Period. In these and other studies from his pen was embodied much industrious research accompanied by suggestive interpretation of the material brought together. In fine, the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* became deeply indebted to him for the effective services he lent to it in the pioneer years of its career.

Mr. Thompson's enterprise in the field of Western history was not restricted to the editing of this *Review*. He found time to compile or edit a number of volumes pertinent to the same field. On the occasion in 1920 of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the erection of the diocese of Chicago appeared his *Archdiocese of Chicago—Antecedents and Developments*. In 1923 was published the *History of the Holy Family Parish, Chicago,* in the compilation of which important work he collaborated with Brother Thomas Mulkerins, S. J. Finally, in 1927, appeared his *History of the Diocese of Springfield,* a large quarto volume dealing exhaustively with the story of the Church in that section of Illinois.

It is to be hoped that other Catholic laymen will be led, after the example of Mr. Joseph Thompson, to interest themselves in mid-western Catholic history and especially in the production of written work in that fascinating field.

To Mr. Thompson's family MID-AMERICA expresses its deep sympathy in their bereavement and earnestly solicits the prayers of its readers for the repose of his soul.

Two outstanding episodes in the stirring history of Franciscan achievement in Western America of the Colonial Period are dealt with in the present issue of MID-AMERICA, the career of Juan Padilla and that of his less-known fellow religious, Gabriel de la Ribourde. Both are fascinating figures in the story of the white man's advance into the wilderness of the New World and both deserve a foremost place in any American Hall of Fame. Father Padilla was the first person known to have laid down his life for the Faith within the limits of the United States. The place of his martyrdom has long been in dispute, depending as it does on the view one holds of the exact route followed by Coronado's famous expedition. The weight of scholarly opinion has long been on the side of Kansas as the more likely region to contain the coveted spot. Recently it has been argued (David Donohue in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* 1929) that Coronado never got beyond the confines of what is now Texas and so, availing himself of this apparently soundly established view, Doctor Foik, in his contribution to the current MID-AMERICA, claims the earliest martyr in the United States for the Lone Star State.

The name of Gabriel de la Ribourde is little known at present; when the significance of his career is adequately brought to public notice, he will come into his own. He was the first minister of the gospel known to have died within the limits of Illinois, and, if we except Père Menard, the exact place of whose demise cannot be definitely determined, the first known to have died anywhere in the Mississippi Valley. His life was note-worthy for personal virtue and holiness and the Church may well be proud that the necrology of her ministers in the Illinois country begins with so distinguished a name. It remains only that a suitable memorial be erected to his memory on the soil which he was privileged to consecrate with his blood.

The *Missouri Historical Review* for July publishes an English translation of an account of Spanish Louisiana, prepared by, or by order of, the Governor, General Estevan Miro, in 1785. As the French maps of the region were drawn prior to 1763 and those of Spanish and American explorers in the seventeen-nineties, the geographical data contained in this account are of value in furnishing contemporary names for rivers and for Indian tribes and villages on the Mississippi and its tributaries at the time when it was prepared. The original draft is now in the Louisiana Collection of the Bancroft Library at the University of California. The editor of the document, A. P. Nasatir, has taken pains to identify every name of a river, an Indian tribe, or an Indian village that occurs in the text, and the footnotes give bibliographical and historical information of interest to the student.

Humphrey J. Desmond contributes to the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for June an article with the title "Early Irish Settlers in Milwaukee." The names given by Mr. Desmond are derived from "reliable data." He has traced the living descendants of twenty-one settlers who came before 1850 and the list includes a number of men prominent in law, commerce, newspaper work, and engineering. Among these descendants, whose ancestors settled in Milwaukee, are named: Jeremiah Curtin, the eminent linguist; Sir Thomas G. Shaughnessey, president of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and Edward Keogh, speaker of the Wisconsin Assembly. James Johnson, who came to Milwaukee in 1844, is said to have been the first Irish-American physician. John L. Doran, an Irish-American lawyer, came the same year. Edward G. Ryan, 1848, became later Chief Justice of the Wisconsin Supreme Court. One reason for the influx of early Irish settlers was the closing of the mills in Fall River, Massachusetts, in 1837, and there was a western exodus of the employees. It is a well-known fact that settlers, emigrating to new tracts of country, tend to follow the parallels of latitude that pass through their original place of habitation. The reason is that they naturally prefer a climate resembling the one to which they are accustomed. Yet the early Irish settlers of Milwaukee, who came chiefly from New York and New England, came also "from Michigan, Ohio, Chicago, St. Louis, and even from points further south." "In 1837 Rev. Patrick O'Kelly was appointed by Bishop Rese of Detroit as the first permanent Catholic priest at Milwaukee. He proceeded to build a frame church (St. Peter's)." His successor, Father Kundig, is credited with being largely instrumental in securing Milwaukee as the site of the first bishopric in Wisconsin. The Germans began to come in 1843 and formed in 1856 a third, in 1890 more than a fourth, of the population; but the influx of many Slavs has reduced this ratio in more recent years.

The Irish element, "which figured as 15 per cent of the population in 1850, does not now exceed 5 per cent." In 1847 the number of Catholics, according to an estimate of the editor of a city directory for 1847, was one-half of the population; it is now about one-third. The loss of four hundred lives in the Lady Elgin disaster of September 6, 1860, most of the passengers being Irish-Americans on a trip to Chicago to procure arms refused to the Union Guards by the Governor, "was felt for years as a check upon the Irish-American life and spirit of Milwaukee."

At the head of the enlargement of the Des Plaines River known as Lake Joliet there was formerly an elevation on the level plain to the west. The part that this hill, called Mount Joliet, has played in Illinois history forms the subject of a paper by Robert Knight and Lucius Zeuch, in the April number of the *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society.* Messrs. Knight and Zeuch have already given evidence of their competence to locate early landmarks of Illinois by the writing of what is perhaps the definitive work upon the Chicago Portage, a publication of the Chicago Historical Society in 1928. Mount Joliet receives frequent mention in the journals of those who, prior to 1848, traversed the course of the Chicago Portage Route. Digging of the Illinois and Michigan Canal diverted travel and shortened the distance; later the building of railroads led to the razing of several hills, including Mount Joliet. Jolliet's map of 1674 shows the hill, which seems to have been near the spot where Father Marquette camped in 1675. The hill is shown also on maps of the nineteenth century. "Several old settlers can recall the time when a considerable part of it still remained, notably Colonel Fred Bennit, of Joliet." The article is illustrated by cuts taken from photographs of the vicinity of Mount Joliet. The authors recommend that a beacon light be placed at the spot "to bid the voyagers of the new commerce welcome, as 'Mount Joliet' did their predecessors, whether they come by air, land, or water."

The summer number of *Michigan History Magazine* contains a gracefully written sketch of the history of "Mackinac Island under French, English and American," by Hazel Fenton Schermerhorn. The importance of Mackinac Island in the early days to the fur trade explains the tenacity with which the British held on to the island, first in the years following the Revolution, and again during the War of 1812. The fort, erected by them years before and containing guns captured by the Americans from Lord Cornwallis and Gen. Burgoyne, was surprised and taken from the American Commandant by the British at the very beginning of the War of 1812. The earthworks erected by the British to mount their cannon are still intact. The author pays a tribute to the Catholic missionaries who founded the Mission of St. Ignace, "gentle, self-sacrificing, sainted souls," as she calls them. "There are still glorious old French lilac trees growing on the island, trees which were brought by the Jesuit priests and planted there." We hope the writer bases this statement upon reliable tradition.

In the above mentioned issue of the *Michigan History Magazine* is a paper by the late Clarence W. Alvord, entitled: "The Conquest of St. Joseph, Michigan, by the Spaniards in 1781." Professor Alvord was well known to students of Illinois history, especially by his initial volume of the Centennial History of Illinois, entitled, "The Illinois Country, 1673-1818" (Springfield, 1920). The article mentioned was originally read by Professor Alvord before the State Historical Society of Missouri, and is reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review*. The usual account of the taking of St. Joseph is based upon a paragraph that appeared in the Madrid Gazette of March 12, 1782, telling of a Spanish expedition sent out from St. Louis on January 2, 1781, by which the post at St. Joseph was captured from the English. "Don Eugenio Pierre took possession in the name of the King of that place and its dependencies, and of the river of the Illinois." The result of the capture was stated to be that "thereby it became impossible for the English to execute their plan of attacking the fort of St. Luis of the Illinois; and it also served to intimidate these savage nations and oblige them to promise to remain neuter, which they do at present." This announcement had its diplomatic effect in Europe. "When in July, 1782, Mr. Jay met the Spanish Minister, the Count d'Aranda, in conference, the latter claimed for Spain all the eastern bank of the Mississippi." Professor Alvord adduces evidence not only to discount the language of the Madrid Gazette, but to place under suspicion the following accepted accounts: "First, the expedition was sent out by the Spanish Commandant at St. Louis; second, that the company was composed of Spanish soldiers and Indians; third, that the commanding officer was a Spaniard; fourth, that some Englishmen and property were captured; lastly, that the country was taken possession of in the name of Spain." On the contrary, he writes: "It is quite evident that the expedition was conceived by the Cahokians to revenge the defeat of their frinds who had been sent out by De la Balme, and that a second motive was the hope of plundering the property which was known to be unprotected at St. Joseph. It is equally evident that some of the Spanish militia participated in the attack. There is no evidence that the taking of St. Joseph was in accordance with instructions from the home government or even from the Governor of Louisiana." (Contributed by William Stetson Merrill, A. B., John Crerar Library, Chicago.)

The publication, begun in a previous issue of the *Illinois Catholic Review,* of the proceedings of the American Federation of Catholic Societies has been unavoidably interrupted. It is resumed in the present issue of Mid-America and the complete record of an historic movement in Catholic lay-activity in the United States will be thus assured the permanency of print.

The Thirteenth National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies took place at Baltimore, Md., September 27, 28, 29, and 30, 1914. It opened with solemn Pontifical Mass in the Baltimore Cathedral. His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons presided. The celebrant of the Mass was the Rt. Rev. Owen B. Corrigan, Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore. Other Prelates in attendance were Bishops McFaul, Schrembs, Muldoon, Canevin, Althoff, Donahue, O'Connell, Cunningham, E. D. Kelley, Currier, and Shahan. The sermon was preached by Bishop Schrembs, who said in part: "There is a peculiar fitness in the meeting of the great host of Federation representing the united endeavor of millions of Catholics for God and Country, in this hallowed spot which is rightly called the 'Cradle of Religious Liberty.' It was here in blessed Maryland, that the flag of religious liberty was first unfurled, while cruel religious persecution was the order of the day on every side." Bishop Schrembs then spoke on the many atrocities committed against the leaders of the Catholic Church in Mexico and deplored the fact that the secular press has been silent, silent as the grave, as to these horrible barbarities. In speaking of Federation the Bishop said: "The Federation is not a vehicle for fads put forth by irresponsible reformers. It is extremely conservative and holds fast to fixed and eternal principles of morality and truth given to us by our Blessed Master, Who alone dared to say to a world sunk in misery and sin: 'Come to me all you that labor and are heavily burdened and I will refresh you.' Federation should enlist the warmest sympathy and the enthusiastic co-operation of every Catholic layman. It is high time for every Catholic to take his stand in the serried hosts of the mighty army of truth and to give the best that is in him to the noble cause. This is the call of the Federation."

At the end of Mass Cardinal Gibbons extended a formal welcome to the Federation and said: "I have just returned from Rome where I had the distinguished honor of being the first to be given an audience with our new Pope Benedict XV. I am happy to say that the Holy Father has authorized me to impart in his name the Papal Benediction to the American Federation of Catholic Societies. I now perform this blessed duty imposed upon me by our new Pope."

SOCIAL SERVICE COMMISSION HOLDS PUBLIC CONFERENCE

The Social Service Commission of the A. F. of C. S. held a public meeting at the Maryland Theatre on Sunday, Sept. 27, 1914, under the direction of Bishop Muldoon of Rockford, Chairman. In opening the session Bishop Muldoon said in part: "The advance of Catholic social reform has made much progress in this country as is evidenced by the numerous social reform and social service organization in the U. S. But truly the Social Question is far too great to be grasped by one mind. Its problems are so many and so difficult that no one individual or no one organization can correct the evils and remedy the abuses that may be grouped under the social question. How well need we draw a valuable lesson from our brothers outside of the Catholic fold, who in national movements are accomplishing almost impossible things. The social expression of religion can and must be found in national movements. We Catholics are just beginning to take our rightful place in the country's forces. The day has passed when Catholics can afford to be a mere heap of uncementing sand. The opportunity is at hand; we must overcome the spirit of apathy, the petty and selfish jealousies. Let us begin today and from this day forward the Social Service of the American Federation of Catholic Societies should be the bulwark of strength."

The next speaker was Mr. August F. Brockland, representing the Central Bureau of the German Roman Catholic Central Verein, who gave a most illuminating report of the Central Bureau's activities. He said that the Social policy of the Central Verein differs from all the present non-Catholic systems of "constructive philanthropy" and "social reform" in vogue in this country, inasmuch as its aim is nothing less than the re-establishment of "that Christian Democracy" of which Pope Leo XIII speaks in his great Encyclical."

FATHER SIEDENBURG, S. J., SPEAKS

Rev. Frederick Siedenburg, S. J., of the Loyola University of Chicago, Ill., reported on the Social Service work done by said University. He said: "I believe that the greatest need of the Catholic Church today is a lay apostolate for social work. I believe that Catholic social education of the poor and unfortunate is demanded in all cities and that the only adequate way we have of answering the call is by furnishing them with people trained by kindly and charitable inclinations for such work. Our problem is of such magnitude that the individual worker is absolutely inadequate for it. In order to do the work in a modern way the individual must do it with scientific knowledge. For that reason I believe that in the organization of the Catholic school, where this social service is taught, we are doing something practical in social work."

Father Siedenburg then presented some interesting statistics about the Social Service work of Loyola University. He stated that the first special courses of instruction in social work were begun in September, 1912, when the Loyola University Lecture Bureau was organized to give lectures of a popular nature on social subjects. In April, 1914, a new department was created at the University under the title of "school of Sociology of Loyola University."

Other speakers at the Social Service Conference were: Rev. Edward Garesche, S. J., of St. Louis, Mo., on "Sodalities"; Very Rev. F. L. Gassler of New Orleans, La., on "Catholic Social Guild"; Mrs. Martha Moore Avery and David Goldstein of Boston on the activities of the "Boston School of Political Economy" and the "Common Cause Society"; Rev. John B. De Ville on "Catholic Colonization Society"; Mr. J. V. Judge of New York on "Layman's Retreats," stating that the Laymen's Retreat movement began at Fordham, N. Y., in July, 1909; Miss Susan W. Wendell of Grand Rapids, Mich., on "Business Girls' Co-operative Club"; Very Rev. P. J. O'Callaghan on "Catholic Total Abstinence Union."

SOCIAL SERVICE DEPARTMENT ACTIVITIES

Rev. Peter E. Deitz, Secretary of the Social Service Department, gave an interesting report which disclosed that 13,450 social service books and pamphlets were distributed during the year and that News Letters were sent monthly to the Catholics and Labor Press of this country and abroad. The Department was in close touch with the American Federation of Labor and with the Industrial Relations Commission of the U. S. Government.

On Sunday Evening Pontificial Vespers took place at the Baltimore Cathedral at which Rt. Rev. P. J. Donahue, Bishop of Wheeling, W. Va., preached. His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons presided.

BUSINESS SESSIONS

The first business session was held at the Lyric Theatre Monday. Cardinal Gibbons opened the session with prayer. President Chas. I. Denechaud, presided, and made his report. He was followed by Mr. Anthony Matre, National Secretary, whose report dealt mainly with the progress and activities of Federation. The report disclosed that the Federation was active in almost every State in the Union, in Hawaii, Porto Rico, Philippine Islands and Alaska. Thirty national organizations and twenty-seven Catholic institutions were represented as members. Among its activities reported were: Crusade against objectionable Plays, Films, Post Cards and Pictures—many of which were suppressed because of Federation's protest.

The fight for cessation of labor on Sundays was successfully carried on in several centres.

The "Literary Test" in the Immigration Bill was objected to. Bibles containing calumnious references to Catholics, which were displayed in several Observation cars of a Western Railroad, were removed on complaints of Federation.

The Louisiana Federation had 500 Catholic books placed in the Public Library of New Orleans; the Alleghany County, Md., Federation fought against bills introduced for the purpose of taxing churches and inspecting convents; the Boston Federation fought bills that advocated lax Sunday observance; catalogues of Catholic books were prepared by the Louisville, Ky., and Grand Rapids, Mich., Federations.

Mr. Edward Feeney, Chairman of the Committee on Public Morals, made a comprehensive report of the activities of his department.

MEXICAN QUESTION—COMMITTEE SEES PRESIDENT WILSON

One of the chief topics of the convention was the "Mexican Question" and as a result a Special Committee, composed of Rev. Richard Tierney, S. J., Henry V. Cunningham, K. S. G., and J. Whalen, was sent to Washington, D. C., to present to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of State Federation's protest on the persecutions in Mexico. The resolutions personally presented to President Wilson read in part as follows:

1) Federation denounces the outrages perpetrated against bishops, priests and religious men and women in Mexico. Thousands have been robbed, tortured, exiled and in many instances brutally murdered—and some of these were American citizens. Religious women were subjected to the brutal lust of an inhuman soldiery.

2) We protest against the inexplainable silence of our public press concerning these well authenticated outrages. This mighty power for the formation of public sentiment and opinion has often made effective appeals, even in the case of individuals, as, for instance the Russian Jew-Beiliss,

or Miss Stone, the Protestant missionary held in captivity by Turkish bandits. The Mexican outrages have thus far been scarcely mentioned by the press.

3) In the name of sacred religion, which has been ruthlessly attacked; in the name of pure womanhood which has been shamefully outraged; in the name of humanity whose fundamental rights have been violated; in the name of Christian civilization, which is being supplanted by a rule of rapine, lust and murder, we most earnestly appeal to our government at Washington to do its utmost towards stopping this inhuman persecution of just men and women in Mexico.

4) By reason of the Monroe Doctrine, the civilized nations of the world look to the U. S. A. to exercise its great power for the preservation and maintenance of the fundamental rights of mankind on the American continent.

We, therefore, must earnestly urge upon the President of the U. S. not to recognize in Mexico any government which does not guarantee civil and religious liberty in the true sense of the word.

The gentlemen presenting the foregoing expression from the Federation have been delegated to commend it to your earnest consideration and to convey to you the kind regards of this body.

We have the honor, Mr. President, to remain

Yours truly,

Charles I. Denechaud,
National President

Anthony Matre,
National Secretary

A similar letter was presented by the same committee to Hon. William J. Bryan, Secretary of State.

(The Committee headed by Father Tierney, S. J., Editor of *America*, was cordially received at the White House and had a ten minute audience with President Wilson. It also had an hour's audience with Secretary Bryan. The Committee had in its possession absolute facts of outrages committed and presented these documents to the above officials. The Committee received the assurance that the government will do all in its power in behalf of religious liberty in Mexico).

Under date of October 6, 1914, the Department of State sent the following letter to Federation:

"The Department acknowledges receipt of your letter quoting resolutions which were adopted on September 29 by the Convention of American Federation of Catholic Societies at Baltimore, protesting against outrages perpetrated against bishops, priests and religious men and women in Mexico and requesting this governments' good offices in behalf of religious liberty in that country.

In reply you are informed that this government has repeatedly interposed its good offices in behalf of persons and properties belonging to religious orders in Mexico.

For your further information, the Department of State begs to inform you that it despatched a telegram to the Brazilian Minister at Mexico

City, requesting him to call to the attention of General Carranza the situation of the priests and sisters now at Vera Cruz and to express to him the earnest hope of this government that he will be willing to announce that the authorities of the Mexican Central Government will not countenance or permit any wanton mistreatment of these people, but will assure them of adequate protection."

ROBERT LANSING
Counselor of State Department

Rev. Richard Tierney, S. J., Chairman of Federation's Mexican Committee, under date of October 17, 1914, sent the following letter to Hon. William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State:

"Upon your request I am sending you the following documents:

Document "A" makes clear the whole contention of the Catholic Church in the Mexican affair. I wish to impress upon you once again that the relentless was waged against Catholicism is not persecution of Catholicism, but a war on religion as such. An assault is made on God. This you yourself, Mr. Bryan, gathered from Caballero's official statement which you read in my presence.

Document "B" is the statement of a man who was a victim of the Guadalajara persecution. Bad as it is, it is not as harrowing as a dozen other accounts which are in my possession. These statements charge the revolutionists with the following crimes: 1) Confiscation of property. 2) Murder of priests. 3) Torture of priests. 4) Violation of Sisters. 5) Desecration of churches. 6) The use of altars and sacred vessels for unspeakably base purposes. 7) Conversion of a convent into a brothel. 8) Attempts to discredit priests by dressing a soldier in Mass vestments and photographing him by the side of a nude woman. 9) The garbing of a prostitute in a Sister's attire. 10) Injecting unworthy priests into ecclesiastical offices. 11) Placing of a nude woman on the altar of the chapel attached to the Jesuit College at Saltillo. 12) Continual interference with liberty of worship. 13) The official denial of God's existence on the part of Caballero. These and many other outrages are authentic.

What now does Federation ask: First, a sincere attempt to rescue the Sisters and Priests marooned at Vera Cruz. Second, recognition of no government which does not grant real freedom of worship.

Respectfully,
R. H. TIERNEY, S. J.
Chairman of the Committee of the American Federation of Catholic Societies"

At the afternoon session of Monday, brief addresses were delivered by Bishops Schrembs, Donahue, and Althoff. Bishop Althoff said in part: "The record we have heard of Federation this morning of the great deeds achieved during the past twelve months is a most remarkable one. We must assert our rights and the sooner we do so the better it will be for us, for mankind and for our country. There are grave questions before us and while continuing our devotion to our Church we must at the same time look to our own interests as regards the country in which we live. Do not let our opponents think that we are under any obligation to them for the privilege of being here in these United States. (Applause.) We know that we are all related to Christopher Columbus, to Marquette and to all the great men who discovered this country and labored for the progress of civilization here; and we want our opponents to understand this, that we have a right to be here and to do what we are doing for the Church and for our country."

Addresses were also made by Father Hughes of the Catholic Indian Bureau, Rev. Henry Westropp, S. J., and Rev. Philip Gordon, an Indian priest of the Chippewa tribe. Father Gordon said: "Archbishop Bonzano once said, 'The glory of the Church in America is her Indian Mission record which is written in tse blood of her martyrs,' and yet today in the U. S.—a land of plenty—the Indian missions are languishing for want of financial support. Your sentiments I am sure are the sentiments of every true Catholic American, that you glory in the success of the missions, of their schools, and of the efforts and fruits of the sturdy old missionaries, heroic soldiers of the Cross."

Another address was delivered by Mr. F. Immekus of Pittsburg, Pa., on the "Re-mailing of Catholic Papers."

TUESDAY SESSION

On Tuesday morning the convention listened to reports made by officers of branch Federations. Messages of greeting from all parts of the world were read. Mr. C. I. Denechaud then introduced Mr. E. Allen Frost, who with Mr. J. H. Shoemaker of Washington and Mr. Barney Link of New York represented the "Poster and Printers Association of the United States and Canada." Mr. Frost spoke of the work of the Poster and Printers Association of the U. S. and Canada, which organization had endorsed Federation's Crusade on objectionable posters. The Association was co-operating with Federation, and to show its approval of the crusade against objectionable posters, the Association had gotten out four uplifting posters representing "The Nativity," "Christ Blessing Little Children," "President Grant," "The Boy Scouts." These posters were displayed in the Convention Hall and Mr. Frost spoke of their educational value. These posters were gotten out at a cost of $65,000 and were posted in four thousand cities of the country. These beautifully colored posters were forerunners to clean posters which the Association had pledged to distribute.

In the afternoon a monster street parade was staged by the Catholic Societies of Baltimore, Washington and vicinity. Thirty thousand marchers were in line and the parade was reviewed by Cardinal Gibbons and the visiting prelates. A large reviewing stand had been erected before the Cathedral of Baltimore.

WEDNESDAY'S SESSIONS

The Wednesday sessions were opened with addresses of great interest. The first to speak was Rev. C. M. de Heredia, S. J., who had been stationed in Mexico for some time. He gave a vivid picture of conditions in that country. He was followed by Mr. R. Ennis of Pittsburgh, who spoke on "Federation." Mrs. Ellen R. Jolly, President of the Ladies Auxiliary of the A. O. H., pledged the support of the society of which she was president to Federation and presented a check of $500.00. Mrs. Rose Rittman of Chicago, President of the Women's Catholic Order of Foresters, gave an interesting report of her order's activities. The next speaker was Rev. John F. Noll (now Bishop Noll of Ft. Wayne, Ind.). Father Noll gave a most illuminating account of the anti-Catholic propaganda and its some forty odd publications. He spoke of "Our Sunday Visitor," of which he was founder and editor, "whose mission it is not so much to answer the charges of the Anti-Catholic clique as to instruct our own people," he said.

The Resolutions

The following Resolutions were adopted:—

Religious Section: "Mexico"; "Home and Foreign Missions"; "Deaf and Dumb"; "Forbidden and Doubtful Societies"; "Religious Care of Prisoners"; "Catholic Press"; "Juvenile Associations"; "Scurrilous and Obscene Papers"; "Theatre and Entertainments"; "Lay Apostolate."

Educational Section: "The Right to a Catholic Education"; "Catholic Educational System"; "High Schools, etc."; "Night Classes"; "State Support"; "Catholic Books and Public Libraries"; "The Teaching of Sex Hygiene"; "Freedom of Education"; "Graduation Exercises in Denominational Churches"; "Abolition of Religious Tests."

Social Section: "Living Wage"; "Just Compensation to Toilers"; "Collective Bargaining"; "Immigration"; "Encyclical of Leo XIII"; "Catholic Social Service Societies"; "Care of the Immigrant"; "Catholic Colonization Society"; "Organization of Business Girls' Co-operative Clubs"; "Divorce."

The Finance Committee reported:

Balance on hand Aug. 12, 1913		$ 3,145.49
Receipts		8,447.56
		$11,593.01
Disbursed—General Fund	$3,944.39	
Associate Membership Fund	3,890.12	
Social Service	1,865.60	9,700.11
Balance		$ 1,892.90

(Signed) Dr. Felix Gaudin, Richard Ennis, C. H. Schulte, M. J. Hepburn,

Members of the Finance Committee

New Officers

The following officers were elected: National President, John Whalen of New York; Vice-Presidents, Thomas Flynn of Chicago, Ill., Julius A. Coller of Shakopee, Minn., Joseph Frey of New York, J. J. Hynes of Buffalo, N. Y., Dr. Peter Ganz of Louisville, Ky., Jos. McLaughlin of Philadelphia, Pa.; National Secretary, Anthony Matre of Chicago, Ill.; National Treasurer, C. H. Schulte of Detroit, Mich.; Marshal, Chas. Harold of Seneca, Kans.; Color Bearer, Chief Whirlwind Soldier of South Dakota.

Executive Board: Most Rev. S. G. Messmer of Milwaukee, Wis.; Rt. Rev. J. A. McFaul of Trenton, N. J.; Thomas H. Cannon of Chicago, Ill.; Nicholas Gonner of Dubuque, Ia.; Edward Feeney of Brooklyn, N. Y.;

F. W. Immekus of Pittsburgh, Pa.; Daniel Duffy of Pottsville, Pa.; C. W. Wallace of Columbus, O.; H. V. Cunningham of Boston, Mass.; Chas. I. Denechaud of New Orleans, La.; F. W. Heckenkamp, Jr., of Quincy, Ill.

Advisory Board: Cardinal Gibbons, Cardinal O'Connell, Cardinal Farley, Archbishop Messmer, Archbishop Blenk, Archbishop Glennon, Bishop McFaul, Bishop Muldoon, Bishop Maes, Bishop Schrembs, Bishop Canevin, Bishop J. P. Carroll, Bishop Keiley, Bishop D. J. O'Donaghue, Bishop D. J. O'Connell.

Just before the close of the convention a telegram was received from Rev. Richard Tierney, S. J., from Washington, D. C., stating that Federation's Mexican Committee was cordially received by President Wilson and Secretary Bryan—that these men listened attentively to Federation's protest on the Mexican persecution and pledged every assistance.

The Convention adjourned to meet in 1915 at Toledo, O.

Respectfully,
ANTHONY MATRE, K. S. G.
National Secretary

Chicago, Ill.

FOURTEENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION, TOLEDO, OHIO

AUGUST 15-18, 1915

RT. REV. JOSEPH SCHREMBS, D. D., BISHOP OF TOLEDO, O., SPONSOR

The Fourteenth National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies took place in Toledo, Ohio, August 15-18, 1915. The convention was formally opened with Pontifical High Mass at St. Francis de Sales Cathedral, of which His Excellency Most Rev. John Bonzano, D. D., Apostolic Delegate (later Cardinal Bonzano) was the celebrant. The following prelates attended: Archbishops Moeller and Messmer; Bishops McFaul, Hartley, Richter, Muldoon, Schrembs, Donahue; Bishop-elect Gallagher of Grand Rapids, Mich.; Most Rev. Coadjutor Archbishop T. O'Shea of Wellington, New Zealand; Rt. Rev. D. La Mora Bishop of Zacatecas, Mexico; Rt. Rev. M. J. Lavelle of N. Y.

The sermon was preached by Bishop Gallagher (now Bishop of Detroit, Mich.), who took for his text the words: "Go and do thou in like manner." He spoke of the great need of a federated laity stating that "be the priesthood ever so learned and zealous if they have not the cooperation of an intelligent and active laity their work is handicapped from the beginning and it will fail to produce the results that ought to be expected." The Bishop then spoke of a pious and learned priesthood of France and Mexico and showed that because of the absence of a federated laity the Church and its ministers in these countries suffer persecution. He then paid a tribute to the work of the Federation of Catholic Societies and urged the Catholic laity to rally around its banner.

After the conclusion of Bishop Gallagher's eloquent sermon His Excellency Most Rev. John Bonzano bestowed upon all present the Papal Benediction.

A great mass meeting was held at the Coliseum on Sunday evening, August 15th. The first speaker was the Bishop of Toledo, O., Rt. Rev. Joseph Schrembs, who spoke on Federation. The Bishop said in part: "What is this Federation? Why should there be a Federation? I will answer: Federation is an organization which must and does unite individuals and families and societies and parishes and dioceses and provinces and a nation without destroying any individuality or any one of those component parts. It is an organization which stimulates and feeds and nourishes every one of those by its great and powerful action and in turn is stimulated, fed and nourished by them as integral and component parts. It is an organization which demands no more than what is implied by the term 'Catholic.' That tells it all. It calls upon us to be Catholics in the real sense of the word, Catholics to the backbone. It is an organization which knows no distinction of race language or sex, for it embraces them all. An organization which everywhere and at all times uplifts and elevates the standard of our whole Catholic faith and which makes us think and act and move in harmony with the Church as the pulse beats in harmony with the heart. That is Federation in its best and truest form."

Bishop Schrembs then introduced the Apostolic Delegate Most Rev. J. Bonzano, who said: "The American Federation of Catholic Societies represents the army of the Catholic Church. We are all soldiers of Christ and have become such through the Sacrament of Confirmation and from that very moment we were affiliated with the Federation. The bishops and the priests, of course, are the officers of this army and you, the lay people of both sexes, are the soldiers. The real Father of the Federation of Catholic Societies, therefore, is our Lord Jesus Christ. And, now, who would refuse to belong to this Federation? There is work for everybody. There are many evils to remedy and we must all work for God, for Church and Country."

Hon. F. W. Mansfield of Boston spoke on the Divorce Evil and urged the Catholic laity to help to eradicate the evil. "We in Massachusetts," said the speaker, "have organized a Catholic Lawyer's League whose object is the extirpation of divorce. The constitution has just been approved by Cardinal O'Connell and much good is expected of its work. We urge upon every Catholic lawyer in every State in this Union the importance of joining such an organization. The lawyers have more opportunity to combat the divorce evil than any other class of citizens—even than priests and ministers, because every divorce case is started in some lawyer's office. That is the time when divorce cases ought to be nipped in the bud."

Mr. John Whalen, National President of the A. F. of C. S. also spoke, his subject being "Federation."

MONDAY'S SESSIONS

The Business Session was opened Monday morning at Memorial Hall. The National Secretary reported the Federation's activities since the last convention held in Baltimore. Thirty-one national organizations were now affiliated with Federation—the last to join was the Catholic Educational Association. The report gave a full review of Federations' activities with regard to persecuted Mexico. After the State Department had been requested by Federation to bring the priests and sisters marooned in Vera Cruz to safety, said Department made reply to Federation that orders had been issued by the Secretary of War to General Funston requesting him to convey to the United States all priests and nuns who desired to leave. This was done at the expense of the United States Government.

Regarding Federation's request that the U. S. Government withhold its recognition of Mexico unless real freedom of worship is guaranteed, the Department answered that it will defer final decision until the time shall have arrived for making such a decision. And when the time does arrive, the State Department gave assurance that the question of religious freedom in Mexico will receive due consideration.

Cardinal O'Connell, in commenting on Federation's work in behalf of stricken Mexico said: "Federation has done great service in bringing to the attention of the U. S. government the conduct of the present leaders of the disgraceful anarchy in Mexico, and the administration had at last done something to ensure the safety of our priests and nuns from the brutal rapacity and barbarism of these savages who have conclusively proven their absolute unfitness to govern." Archbishop Jose Mora of Mexico City, showed his appreciation of Federation's service by a special message in which he said: "I find no words to manifest to Federation my gratitude as well as the thankfulness of all the Mexican bishops, priests and nuns for the earnest interest Federation has taken to have our religious and civil rights resored to us."

The report reviewed Federation's activities regarding the exclusion from the U. S. mails of bigoted publications; a plan how to cope with bigotry; Tom Watson case, and defeat of Convent Inspection Bills.

Federation vs. Associated Press

Federation made a thorough investigation regarding the Associated Press's attitude towards Catholic affairs such as the Father Rossman case and the scanty news about the persecution of Catholics in Mexico. The Father Rossman case was as follows: Father Rossman of Wheeling, W. Va., sued the "Menace" for foul slander. The case was tried in Joplin, Mo., and a verdict was rendered by a Protestant jury in favor of Father Rossman who was awarded $1,500.00 in damages. The news of this suit was published by the Associated Press, but the latter did not publish the verdict in favor of the Catholic priest. Federation investigated and was informed that the Associated Press ordered the news item of the verdict "Killed." The matter was taken up by Federation with Mr. Melville Stone of New York, General Manager of the Associated Press, who denied the "Killing" of the news. After the exchange of several letters the matter was referred to the Chicago office of the Associated Press, where the National Secretary called on Mr. Paul Cowles, Superintendent of the Central Division of the Associated Press and Mr. E. Cutter, News Editor of the Chicago office. After a two hours interview it was disclosed that the Associated Press would not knowingly suppress any news, because it happened to be Catholic and that some one must have erred in not giving out the Rossman vs Menace decision, but this omission must be ascribed to the fact that the importance of the whole matter was not understood or brought to proper notice. Upon inquiring why the Associated Press did not bring the news of the Church's persecution in Mexico, the reply was that no news had been given out to the Press by the State Department at Washington. The National Secretary in his report stated that he does not wish to go on record to excuse the Associated Press for any of its sins of omission in the past, but he feels that the protests made will have as a result a better understanding and a more considerate service in the future of Catholic matters.

The Secretary's report also reviewed the "Immigration Bill and Its Literary Test," which bill was vetoed by President Wilson. Censorship measures against Plays and Motion Pictures were reported, also the suppression of objectionable films in several centres.

RAILROAD COMPANIES VS. BIGOTED PUBLICATIONS

Complaint had reached Federation that Railroad employees and tenders at Railroad crossings, while on duty, were circulating papers and publications which slander the priests and sisterhoods of the Catholic Church. That this practice might be discontinued, the National Secretary sent letters to the head officials of various Railroad Companies asking them to investigate and discontinue this practice if it should exist on their road. Twenty-seven Railroad Companies were appealed to and all, with the exception of three, made response and promised co-operation.

The report of Mr. Edward Feeney, Chairman of the Public Morals Committee, reviewed investigations made on objectionable dances, picture censorship, indecent advertising, etc.

Two important letters from Cardinal Farley of New York and Cardinal O'Connell of Boston were read.

TUESDAY'S SESSIONS

The important business on Tuesday was the discussion on the Resolutions which were presented to the convention. The Resolutions adopted were as follows: "Holy Father"; "Sanctification of Sunday"; "The Principle of Catholic Education"; "Immoral Literature, Pictures, etc."; "Divorce"; "Industrial Relations"; "Larger Social Aspects"; "Night Classes"; Freedom of Education"; "Bible Reading in Public Schools"; "Deaf and Blind"; "World Peace"; "Catholic Indians"; "The Catholic Press"; "Extension of Federation"; "Mexico."

On Tuesday evening, August 17, a great mass meeting was held at the Coliseum at which Bishop Muldoon, of Rockford, Ill., Chairman of Federation's Social Service Department, presided. The first speaker of the evening was Rev. F. Siedenburg, S. J., Dean of the School of Sociology of Loyola University, Chicago, Ill. His subject was "A General Survey of the Immigration Question," and he said in part: "Immigration problems are not of recent origin. No doubt the natives of San Salvador had such a problem when Columbus landed. After all, we are all more or less immigrants, a fact that should not be lost sight of. Prior to 1821 we had no government statistics and from that time to 1915 our records show that 31,348,720 aliens have come to our shores. In the forties this great tide of immigration began first with the Irish and a little later the German.

Nearly twelve millions of our immigrants have been from these sources. In the eighties came the Scandinavians, then in turn the Pole, the Italian, the Hungarian, the Greek, the Russian, the Jew. Are these millions of human beings a national asset or a liability? Are they making the United States a greater and better nation or are they dragging it down to the low level of the backward nations of Europe? This is the immigration problem in a nutshell." Father Siedenburg then showed how these immigrants were an asset to this country, and what part Catholic immigrants played in this country's development and expansion. He said: "One person in every seven in the United States is born outside of its borders. There are one-sixth as many Canadians here as in Canada; one-half million more Germans than in Berlin; enough Irish to make four Dublins, enough Italians to make three Romes. During the ten years ending in 1910 nearly nine million immigrants came to the United States, but on account of business depression and other causes more than three million returned home.

"How many of these millions are Catholics? Since 1899 the Immigrant Bureau has not inquired as to the religious faith of the immigrant. In 1899 the number admitted was 361,000 of which one-fifth were Protestants; one-tenth Jews and 52 per cent Catholics. Bishop Canevin of Pittsburgh, as a result of the investigation, showed that out of 13,343,583 foreign-born in the United States in 1910, 6,854,838 or 51 per cent were Catholics." Father Siedenburg then quoted from Roberts (*The New Immigrant*), who praised the Catholic Church for the interest it has taken in these new immigrants and who said: "To shepherd these millions of souls speaking thirty different tongues, to house them in churches, to soothe racial prejudices, to secure an adequate number of priests, these are problems that no ecclesiastical body before has ever been called upon to solve. The Catholic Church has done and is still doing a great work for the foreign speaking people in America."

Father Siedenburg, in his illuminating paper, pointed out some of the objections advanced against immigration: Industrial Objections, Political Objections and Illiterary Objections. He then summed up the immigration problem in the words of Haskins and said: "To these words the immigrant might add: 'I bring you the wit and eloquence of Ireland; the science of music of Germany; the art and antiquity of Italy; the literature and beauty of France; the patriotism and passion of Poland; the poetry and perseverence of the Hebrew; the thrift and sincerity of the Scandinavian. I bring you all these, Young America, take what is best and noblest in them all, and under God you shall be the greatest nation that ever adorned the face of the earth."

Very Rev. Francis Clement Kelley, President of the Catholic Church Extension Society (now Bishop Kelley of Oklahoma) spoke of the need of paid social workers and welcomed the idea of Loyola University's School of Sociology and other efforts to train social workers.

Mr. Charles E. Fay of Boston in his address pointed out the difficulties and dangers of the Catholic immigrant touching on the following points: Language, poverty, proselytization, changed mode of living, banks, socialism and absence of old home safeguards.

Rt. Rev. Msgr. A. F. Roche of Massachusetts said: "There should be a special Commission on Sociology in every diocese. This Commission should be appointed by the Bishop and consist of priests and laymen whose duty and work shall be to make careful investigation of industrial, social, educational and legislative matters in so far as they relate to the working classes."

Rev. Peter E. Dietz, Secretary of the Social Service Department, as well as Bishop Muldoon, its Chairman, also made brief addresses and gave reports of past year's activities.

CLOSING SESSION

At the closing session the Committees on "Constitution"; "Bulletin"; "Ways and Means," and "Finance" made their reports. The Finance Committee reported:

Balance on hand	$1,892.90
Receipts	6,458.62
Total	$8,351.52
Expenses	6,585.51
Balance	$1,766.01

The Finance Report was signed by Dr. Felix Gaudin, R. A. Ennis, C. B. Kessing, F. P. Leonard.

The following Officers were elected: National President, John Whalen of New York; Vice-Presidents: T. P. Flynn of Chicago, Ill., J. A. Coller of Shakopee, Minn., Joseph Frey, K. S. G., of New York, N. Y., J. J. Hynes of Buffalo, N. Y., Jos. McLaughlin of Philadelphia, Pa., J. T. Brennan of Boston, Mass.; National Secretary, Anthony Matre, K. S.G., of Chicago, Ill.; National Treasurer, C. H. Schulte of Detroit, Mich.; Marshall, Anthony Kuhn of Victoria, Kas.; Color Bearer, Chief Whirlwind Soldier.

Executive Board: Thomas H. Cannon, Chicago, Ill., Chairman; Nicholas Gonner, Dubuque, Ia.; F. W. Immekus, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Daniel Duffy, Pottsville, Pa.; C. W. Wallace, Columbus, O.; H. V. Cunningham, K. S. G., Boston, Mass,; C. I. Denechàud, K. S. G., New Orleans, La.; F. W. Heckenkamp, Jr., Quincy, Ill.; F. W. Mansfield, Boston, Mass.

The Advisory Board consisted of the Cardinals and Bishops named at the previous convention. The next convention is to be in New York City.

Respectfully,

ANTHONY MATRE, K. S. G.
National Secretary

Chicago, Illinois.

BOOK REVIEWS

Obregon's History of 16th Century Explorations in Western America entitled Chronicle, Commentary or Relation of the Ancient and Modern Discoveries in New Spain and New Mexico, 1584. Translated, edited and annotated by George P. Hammond, University of Southern California, and Agapito Rey, Indiana University. Weitzel Publishing Company, Inc., 336 South Broadway, Los Angeles, 1928, pp. XXXIV+351.

A welcome addition to the source material of the early history of North and Northwest Mexico, now western United States for the greater part, is this splendid translation of the fascinating and quaint old chronicle of a unique soldier-historian of the Spanish frontier in the 16th century. In two books, part I and II, the adventurous follower of the builder of Nueva Vizcaya, recently portrayed by Dr. J. Lloyd Mecham in the unspectacular but grim account of the conquest of the northern frontiers of New Spain, tells us with infinite details the exploits of the hardy pioneers and silver mine prospectors that blazed the trail into the uninviting and hostile territory beyond Nueva Galicia as far as present New Mexico. This account of Francisco de Ibarra's exploits, written by one of his most faithful followers, will ever remain one of the chief sources for the conquest of northern Mexico in the third quarter of the 16th century. Though Obregon did not write his narrative until 1584, it is the best account of Ibarra's activities available today.

The second part of the book deals with the rediscovery of New Mexico after the failures of Coronado and Narvaez. It is here that the historian finds the best account of the Chamuscado and Espejo expeditions into New Mexico, having been written less than a year after the events. This remarkable chronicle was extensively used by Dr. J. Lloyd Mecham in his *Life of Francisco de Ibarra* and his accounts of the Lujan and Espejo expeditions; and well it might be, being the chief source for the period covered.

Though the chronicler is a rough adventurer, a soldier of fortune, in whom the finer sentiments of humanity find no echo, still there runs throughout the narrative a trace of a rough but sincere faith; besides, there are a number of glowing accounts of the heroic virtues of the humbler but courageous missionaries that accompanied the expeditions into the unknown regions of the North, succeeding at times where the soldiers failed. Practically every expedition was accompanied by one or more missionaries who preached the Gospel of Christ with such fire and sincerity to the untutored natives that roamed the vast region of the north that they gained many converts and subdued with kindness the most rebellious Indians. When the governor reached Petlatan "He ordered the Holy Gospel to be preached to them [the natives] through Father Pablo de Acevedo's words. The latter informed them of the joy and eternity which God gives those who are good and who obey His commandments. . . . . The Indians earnestly asked the friar with many entreaties to preach to them on a designated day, speaking for the rest of the natives who live along both sides of the river." Thus Christianity was spread. It was this same Father Acevedo who, a few days later, when other natives became hostile and threatened to annihilate the little expedition, volunteered to return alone to Mexico City to secure reenforcements.

The translation has been very carefully done and the original followed closely without awkward constructions or mannerisms. The annotations add much to the text. The editors have pointed out with unusual care the numerous typographical errors in the first Spanish edition published by Father Mariano Cuevas, S. J., in 1924, comparing it with a photostat copy of the original document secured for the purpose.

The original manuscript now made available to English-speaking students remained buried in dust for almost four hundred years in the monumental archives of Seville, where with incredible painstaking care the Spaniards kept the most minute and diverse accounts of everything that occurred in two continents. It was Father Mariano Cuevas, S. J., who first discovered this invaluable account in 1922 and brought it out of oblivion by publishing it in its original form in 1924 in Mexico. It is well to note that many of the typographical errors discovered in the first edition of the distinguished Mexican historian and scholar by the translators were due to the fact that the whole edition was completed in *ten days,* a record for any publisher, particularly for a Mexican government printing office such as the one that published Father Cuevas's edition. True, there is little excuse for undertaking to publish a work of this nature in such short time, but the fact is mentioned as an explanation of the apparent negligence in the Spanish text to which the translators refer so often. Furthermore, the edition was finished in *ten days* under the protest of Father Cuevas.

It is to be regretted that the quaint old maps included in the Spanish edition were not reproduced in the English translation.

The University of Texas CARLOS E. CASTANEDA

The Encomienda in New Spain: Forced Native Labor in the Spanish Colonies, 1492-1550. By Lesley Byrd Simpson, University of California Publications in History, XIX. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1929, pp. VIII+385. $5.00.

In this work Professor Simpson has narrated the history of the early years of the Spanish conquest. "In surveying the work of Spain in the New World," said the late Professor Bourne, "we must realize from the start that we are studying one of the great historical examples of the transmission of culture by the establishment of imperial domain, and not as in the case of English America, by the growth of little settlements of immigrants acting on their own impulse." Professor Simpson has realized this and has produced a work that, we hope, will be the beginning of a complete history of Spain in America. His knowledge of available documents is accurate and adequate. He has what few English writers of Spanish history since the sixteenth century have had, the mental energy and independence necessary to throw off traditional emotionalism and draw common sense conclusions from his rational study of the subject.

Spain has been a victim of vilification by English writers so long and so persistently that in the popular mind she stands for reaction, savage ferocity, monstrous greed, stark superstition, for all that a distorted and frightened imagination can put into the misunderstood word, Inquisition. One of her own sons, Las Casas, a sincere fanatic and therefore incapable of cool discrimination, described so vividly the inhuman cruelties of some Spaniards in some places that even John Fiske lost his poise and branded Spain for the crimes of men three thousand miles beyond her control. Undoubtedly Spain has been interested in obtaining gold and all else of value from her American colonies, as were England and France at a later time. "What else," said an Englishman of the sixteenth century, "were colonies for?" But there is the indubitable fact also that she was determined to lift the natives to a higher plane, and to unite them by means of a common language, culture, and religion. There was only one way in which that could be done, a way that had been successful in the past. Through feudalism the nations of Europe had advanced to whatever eminence they had attained in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But as feudalism implied forced labor, for some time Spanish Kings, Queens and Emperors hesitated to permit its introduction into the colonies. In the meantime it was introduced by the Conquerors. Colonial experience demonstrated that, if the natives were to be civilized, they must be forced to work and live in a civilized world. The Conquerors cared little, indeed, for civilization or for any thing else that might divert the natives from laboring in the mines, but when the Spanish government obtained more firm hold on the American colonies the system of forced labor was seen to be the best and was at last tacitly permitted. Professor Simpson admits the system of forced labor was not an ideal solution for the unsolvable problem of racial exploitation, but says, "the Indians themselves seem to have fallen into their new role of mediaeval serfs with remarkably little protest. That there was no rebellion of the encomienda Indians in Mexico must be credited as much to their acceptance of the new order as to the military strength of the Spaniards. It seems probable too that they found their new serfdom milder than that which they had endured under their native rulers." Whatever were its faults, the imperial policy of Spain was a policy of genuine civilization. The dominant race mixed with the subject people, as Roman had with Spanish and Norman with Keltic, and today Mexico, Central and South America are civilized because they are Spanish. As Mr. José Vasconcellos recently said in an address at the University of Chicago, "we have been at heart Spaniards, even when we had to fight against Spain."

Loyola University, Chicago ENEAS B. GOODWIN, S. T. B., J. D.

Une Épopée Canadienne. By Charles de la Roncière, La Renaissance du Livre, Paris, 1930, pp. 255. 15 fr.

This is the story of the heroic achievements of the eleven Le Moyne brothers, better known in history under the names derived from their little fiefs: Iberville, Bienville, Longueuil, Sainte-Hélène, Maricourt, Sérigny and Châteauguay. Charles Le Moyne came to Canada in 1641. Through his remarkable ability and distinguished services he rose from a humble position in society to one of equality with titled officers. His sons were legion, "the Machabees of New France," the author calls them. To follow the exploits of the eleven brothers is to read the history of New France, for the field of their activity was as wide as New France itself. Wherever the prestige of New France was in peril, there appeared one or more of the eleven. They saved Quebec from the English and Montreal from the Iroquois; they wrote a dramatic chapter in the history of Hudson Bay; they founded New Orleans and fathered Louisiana, saving it from the Spanish in 1719; they projected attacks against New England; they were skillful diplomatists among the Indian tribes, arresting them on the war-path and forming useful alliances among them. Nearly all of them sacrificed their lives for New France, and the last of them, Bienville, lived to see the loss of New France and Louisiana.

The author writes with sympathy and love for his subject. He recounts well the deeds of the Le Moynes, but in doing so, he does more. He tells of the perilous life at Montreal, of fighting in the American wilds, of thrilling sea-fights like that of the *Pélican* in Hudson Bay, of alliances with the Esquimauz, of Indian customs, of Hudson Bay, "the paradise of hunters," of the marvellous building operations of the beaver, of great Indian friends of the French, like "Le Rat" of Michillimakinac and "Le Serpent Piqué" of the Natchez, and so on.

There are no footnotes, but the bibliography lists chiefly sources which are mostly French. Extracts from these are used frequently with effect. There is hardly a shadow in the picture drawn of the Le Moynes, but then the book is their epic.

Notre Dame College of SISTER MARY BORGIAS, S. N. D.
John Carroll University, Cleveland

The United States after the World War. By James C. Malin, Ginn & Co., 1930, pp. VI+584.

Perhaps a better title for this book would be: *The United States, 1918-1928: Political and Economic Aspects for the General Reader.*

Part I, consisting of five chapters and seventy-five pages, gives a clear-cut account of the significance of the antecedents, provisions, ramifications and consequences of the League of Nations insofar as it was pertinent to the United States in general and to the election of 1920 in particular.

Part II, consisting of fifteen chapters and one hundred and ninety pages, is entitled "Domestic Policies after the World War." In this division of his text, after showing the heights to which a program of "rigid economy" in public finance had risen, Dr. Malin allots five chapters to the increasingly important subject of transportation and communication. A rather cursory account is given of railroad transportation prior to and following the World War; of motor transportation with its concomitant, the erection of county, state and federal highways; of the development of inland waterways and of the rapid strides which have been made in aviation and in radio transmission and control.

Interspersed within Part II is a lucid discussion of the recent trends of our fiscal, banking and currency problems and relations. There appears also, but without transition, a somewhat forced account of business organization and regulation. Finally, in Part II attention is drawn to some of the most fundamental changes which have evolved in labor, immigration, agriculture, the promotion and control of natural resources and to selected social questions, the most important of which according to the author's space allotment is prohibition.

Part III, consisting of twelve chapters and two hundred and thirty pages, is devoted to recent United States foreign policies with their political and economic implications. Although necessarily brief this section of the text should impress the general reader most favorably.

In Part IV, consisting of two chapters and thirty-six pages the author summarizes political developments and party politics between 1918 and 1928 and gives his interpretation of the outstanding factors in recent American history.

Viewed as a whole this book fills a much needed niche in textbook publication. However, because of the fact that it is undocumented for the most part, and because of the inadequacy of its bibliographical citations (a point frankly admitted in the foreword) it is not likely that it will be readily admitted to the shelves of so-called research workers in current United States history. Again, there will be some who will criticize the text on the score of the inclusion of a multitude of topics treated in the manner common to books of "Readings," where continuity (except within specifically defined divisions) is not so fundamental. And, undoubtedly, there will be some who will criticize it because it excludes so many aspects—religious, educational, social, cultural and even economic which show the true trend of our development during the decade considered. Nevertheless, in the opinion of this reviewer, Dr. Malin has done a genuine service, not so much to the serious student or the teacher of United States history, as to the army of intelligent readers who can find within the confines of this text the type of serious reading material which should make all of us better and more enlightened citizens.

De Paul University HOWARD E. EGAN, Ph. D.

Makers of Modern Europe. By Count Carlo Sforza, Former Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Publishers, Indianapolis, 1930, pp. 420, $5.00; illustrated.

In this compilation Count Sforza has arrayed before his reader a list of persons and personages whose lives are of especial interest not only to the historian, but likewise to everyone who appreciates the deeds of some of the great ones of Europe during the past eighty years.

Some forty prominent men and women are the subjects of the author's reminiscences. One would hardly call these little sketches by any other name for they seem to be, for the most part, little bundles of personal recollections or stories that the author heard told of these different individuals. Of course, there is nothing like completeness in any of these pen-pictures. The very frequent use of the "I," for which the author is, in a typical Latin way, most apologetic, serves to win attention from the first page. One is tempted to place full confidence in Count Sforza, for he draws nearly all his material from his own experiences and his own associations with "the Makers of Modern Europe."

These little sketches, then, are chatty, and, at times, highly interesting. One cannot suppress the rather uncharitable feeling, though, that Count Sforza seems to be entirely unaware of modesty and moderation when speaking of his own accomplishments. Besides, another grievance, and a more serious one, is that the work seems to be prejudiced. If there are as many misrepresentations concerning Stambulisky, Vandervelde and

Mustafa Kemal as there are in the treatment of Pius X, Benedict XV and and Pius XI, then the reliability of the book is completely doubtful.

The author of this collection of personal memoirs, it is obvious, is at loggerheads with the faith of his ancestors. In fact, he appears to be violently anti-clerical and anti-Catholic as well. For instance when writing of the Hapsburg heir that was murdered as Sarajevo, Count Sforza describes Ferdinand as "a determined champion of the narrow bigotry that, in Austria, went under the name of religion." This arch-duke was surely too Catholic and too Austrian for Sforza to judge fairly.

The bias of this former Italian statesman, however, is still more apparent when he treats of men like the present Pope, Pius XI, and his two immediate predecessors. In a rather flippant way Piux X is referred to as "Sarto," who, says the Count, hid beneath his Venetian good nature "a dangerous mind . . . . a narrow mind." This is maintained because of the energy of Piux X in withstanding the threatening tide of Modernism which would have imperiled Catholicism as it has since disrupted protestantism. Again the Venetian Pope is portrayed as an ignorant man, and as one who meddled in outside politics without understanding anything at all about conditions in Europe. Count Sforza's is a different Piux X from the one whom his own closest associates named the "Saintly Pope."

For Benedict XV, the Italian Sforza seems to have had great sympathy, great admiration. He calls him "the most intelligent of modern Popes." Unfortunately, though, he appears to attribute Pope Benedict's cessation of "the theological war" against Modernists to the Pope's unfamiliarity with the theology of the Church and also to a more tolerant view of the Pope towards Modernists. The Count evidently forgot that the greater part of Pope Benedict's pontificate was spent when Europe was involved in the troubles of the World War, and that the activities of the Pontiff were taken up with attempts at pacifying the warring nations. Certainly Benedict XV was not the man who would wink at such an evil as Modernism.

The Piuses, Count Sforza dislikes very much. So the present Holy Father is no exception. Pius IX, Pius X, Pius XI, to Sforza, are enemies of Liberty. One is tempted to believe, however, that maybe Pope Pius's treaty with the hated Fascist regime might partially explain the Count's animosity towards the present incumbent in the Chair of St. Peter, for our author considers the Il Duce Italy less free than Masonic Italy of recent years. Here is what Sforza says of Piux XI: "The new Pope [Pius XI] was not only, like Piux X, hostile to the ideas of Liberty, he was also a sort of a scholar, grown up among libraries and archives, afraid of life."

St. Louis University GERALD P. BRENNAN, S. J.

La Ville de Quebec Sous Le Régime Français. Par Pierre-Georges Roy. [v. I, pp. 548, v. II, pp. 519]. Publié par le Service des Archives du Gouvernment de la Province de Quebec, Quebec, Redempti Paradis, Imprimeur de Sa Majesté, le Roi, 1930.

This is still another of the long series of contributions which the indefatigable archivist of the Province of Quebec, M. Pierre-Georges Roy has made to the history of Canada under the French regime. How large his work bulks in this particular field of historiography has been pointed out in a notice (MID-AMERICA, October, 1929) of the notable bibliography of his publications recently compiled by his son, M. Antoine Roy. The present work is one of a collection of Government publications of material from the Quebec provincial archives appearing in recent years under the editorship of M. Roy. It comprises two portly royal octavo volumes, each amply illustrated with engravings of historic personages, buildings and localities, and with facsimile of interesting documents. In Vol. II, pp. 405-459, are reproduced *in extenso* the texts of documents or passages from documents occurring in facsimile in the body of the work.

No one who visits Quebec comes away without a sense of its old-world atmosphere and charm. More so than is the case even with the more ancient capitals of Europe, the spell of the past still clings to the one-time metropolis of New France. Quebec is a survival of seventeenth-century French culture and physical environment that escaped the Revolution and managed to keep itself practically intact down to our own day. "France has left on us," says the Honorable M. Taschereau, Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec, in an eloquent foreword, "her indelible mark. No one will read these pages impregnated with her through and through without realizing with emotion that the French establishment in North America was not built on sand. Political ties have been broken and we have changed allegiance.

The issue of arms has wished it so. We have been, we are, and we shall continue to remain loyal to the British crown. The institutions which have been guaranteed to us deserve this faithful allegiance. Before everything else we are Canadians. Is there any other land to which we could be more attached than this admirable soil to which generations have anchored us? Nothing has been changed in our souls, our ethnic character, our language and our faith. France continues to live in us and we prolong her moral influence on the American continent. After having read the remarkable work of M. Pierre-Georges Roy, our friends in Europe and America will only have to come to our city and our fire-sides to realize that Quebec, at bottom, has undergone no change." Wilfrid Laurier's tribute to Quebec is also cited. "I have always thought and I think so more than ever that Quebec ought to be for Canadians of French origin what Mecca is for the Arabs, the town *par excellence,* the sacred town above every other . . . . What makes the charm of Quebec is the variety, the element of surprise in its aspects. At every turn you make the scene changes, a new panorama unrolls before your eyes as ravishing as the one before but of a different type . . . . At every step you take in our town a monument, a building, a stone, a corner of the sky at the end of a narrow street summons up in your imagination a whole world of heroic events."

The plan of the work is unique. It is not a continuous history of Quebec, but a *melange* of documents from primary sources, cited sometimes *in toto,* sometimes in part, and of passages from secondary accounts, all the material illustrating some or other detail of Quebec history, political, social, religious and economic, during the period in question. The documents and other pieces thus assembled, in number some 550, are grouped chronologically, the entire range of the story being presented from the arrival of Cartier at Stadacona to the fateful passage-of-arms on the Plains of Abraham. M. Roy's unrivalled acquaintance with the first-hand sources of Quebec history has enabled him to make an adequate selection of documents so that the general reader, to whom, apparently, and not to the special student or researcher, the work is addressed, will carry away from it a vivid appreciation of Quebec origins and development. All the outstanding figures and situations in the intriguing drama of New France pass before one's eyes from Cartier, Champlain, Frontenac, Talon and Laval, to Levis and Montcalm.

The one word of unfavorable comment that the reviewer ventures to express concerns the index. This is not as helpful as it might have been made. No attempt is made to give topical captions to the page references. Thus, one finds for Laval a solid block of 66 page numbers with no indication of the details which they severally refer to.

G. J. G.

The Journal of the American Irish Historical Society, 1929-30. Volume XXVIII, Published by the Society, 132 East 16th Street, New York City, 1930, pp. IV+317.

This volume contains four essential divisions, the work of the Society during the past two years with records of the annual banquets and the annual meetings, historical papers, necrology and membership roll.

The valuable part is the historical contributions. There are some twenty-one separate papers in the entire collection. Michael J. O'Brien contributes a timely article on the "Scotch-Irish" in the Revolutionary War. J. H. Sheppard gives more light on the Clinton family in early New York. James Smith, Jr., dwells at length upon Thomas Burke, Governor of North Carolina. A very careful work is done by J. D. Hackett in his "Passenger Lists" published in the *Irish Chronicle* or *Shamrock* in 1811. An alphabetical arrangement of the names of 2000 individuals indicates a vast amount of historical research. William Mahony is the author of a brief sketch on Irish settlers in Union County, New Jersey. J. G. Coyle writes interestingly on Monsignor Henry Brann, a life member of the Society. Queena Pollack relates the story of an 18th century Irish innkeeper of Washington and his daughter. George O'Dwyer contributes a paper on Edmond Dear or Dwyer of Ipswich, Massachusetts. The work is historically accurate but not original for the subject matter has been in print before. A partial view of Governor Dongan's attitude toward religious liberty is presented by J. H. Kennedy, O. M. I. Other articles appear from the pen of Mary Donelin, Herbert Donovan, William Bennett, James Hackett (who writes a really important essay on methods of tracing Irish ancestry), John McCaffrey, Elizabeth Lynch, John O'Farrell, Daniel F. Coholan, and H. S. Gallagher, C. S. C.

The materials extend over colonial, Revolutionary and modern times. With two exceptions all the papers are very brief. An unfortunate fact is the absence in many places of bibliographies, footnotes or other ways by which the reader might find the sources of the historical data. The collection is the best of its kind in recent years. In the words of the President-General, John Kenlon, "This book represents persistence in a purpose . . . . " to "collect and preserve the records" of the Irish race in America.

The annual reports show that the Society is in sound financial condition. The membership roll includes 3000 names with forty-six states, the District of Columbia, the Philippine Islands, and three foreign countries represented. The necrology contains brief biographical sketches of thirty-nine individuals, many of them prominent in public life. An index of subjects and an index of persons conclude the volume.

St. Louis University GEORGE F. DONOVAN, A. M.

A. Lincoln. By Ross F. Lockridge, author of "How Government Functions in Indiana" and "George Rogers Clark." Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y., 1930, pp. XIV+320. $1.40.

This is a Lincoln biography written from the viewpoint of the boy or girl of Junior High School. Its purpose is to bring the real Lincoln home to them, to make his personality a living, tangible thing and this especially through the medium of his own revealing words as these are found in his letters, speeches, and other published writings. It is a commonplace of the biographer's art that a man's life-story cannot be told with more adequacy or finality than in his own recorded utterances where these are available, caution of course being employed in using such source-material when there is reason to suspect exaggeration or insincerity. Mr. Lockridge adopts this method, taking "particular pride in the extensive use and arrangement of quotations from Lincoln. These have been placed so that they help build up the story of his life. They comprise the vital content of this book and should be read with thoughtful care."

Lincoln's career, more so than that of any other American, with the single exception of George Washington, is part and parcel of the history of the United States. To understand in all their breadth and significance the services he rendered to the great Republic of the New World is to appreciate more deeply the amazing greatness of that Republic and to prize more highly the boon of citizenship in it. Acquaintance with Lincoln and his place in the national story thus becomes an important factor in the education of Young America and any book that helps to make this acquaintance practicable in the school-room is welcome. Mr. Lockridge's contribution is readable, accurate on the whole, and comprehensive in its all-round revelation of Lincoln's many-sided personality, all the elements of physical and social environment that helped to mould that personality being set out lucidly in language that no high-school student will fail to understand.

Some slips were noted by the reviewer. "When the Lincolns came to Illinois [1830] this was the most western state in the Union" (p. 80). Missouri had been a state since 1821. There is no positive evidence that Lincoln helped his father, Thomas, build the log-cabin in Coles County, Illinois (illustration, p. 93), the father having apparently moved from Macon County to Coles unaccompanied by his son. "His faith amounted almost to fatalism. He accepted the war and its vicissitudes as the will of God" (p. 300). Fatalism is the doctrine that some blind impersonal force determines the course of things. To accept the war "as the will of God" was not fatalism but really the Christian viewpoint that all things happen if not by the positive will of God, at least with His permission.

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MID - AMERICA
An Historical Review

Vol. XIII JANUARY, 1931 Number 3
New Series, Vol. II

CATHOLIC MISSIONARY SCHOOLS AMONG THE INDIANS OF MINNESOTA[1]

A few years ago while engaged on a study of the history of education in Minnesota the writer could not fail to notice the comparative paucity of published material dealing with the activities of Catholic missionaries among the Indian tribes during the pre-Territorial and Territorial days of that commonwealth. So far as historical research is concerned, this is virtually an untilled field, but one that would yield a rich harvest to the patient investigator. In these days when Catholic scholarship is coming into its own, perhaps, it is not too much to hope that some of our graduate students will see fit to give us a worthy treatment of the topic.[2] In the meantime these few brief notes are assembled partly with a view to arousing interest in this neglected subject and partly to supplement the excellent article of Father Hoffman which appeared in a recent issue of MID-AMERICA.[3]

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[1] The schools and missions referred to in this article belong to the early part and middle of the nineteenth century. The first Christian mission to be established on Minnesota soil was that in charge of the Jesuit Fathers, Michel Guignas and Nicolas de Gonner. It was founded in 1727 at Fort Beauharnois, near the village of Frontenac, and was called "The Mission of St. Michael the Archangel." There is no evidence that a school was connected with the mission. The Ursuline Convent and Academy of Villa Maria is supposed to occupy the site of the original mission and the convent chapel is named after its historic predecessor. The mission as well as the military establishment was short-lived, due largely to the fact that the Sioux were found inhospitable and the Foxes often closed the homeward road. See Rev. Ambrose McNulty, *The Diocese of St. Paul: The Golden Jubilee,* 1851-1901, p. 20, and Rev. Francis J. Schaefer, "Fort Beauharnois near Frontenac, Minn.," in *Acta et Dicta,* II, 111-113, (July, 1909), published by the Catholic Historical Society, St. Paul; Louise Phelps Kellogg, "Fort Beauharnois" in *Minnesota History,* Vol. 8, No. 3. September, 1927, pp. 232-246.

[2] Much readily accessible material will be found in the libraries of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul Seminary, and St. John's University at Collegeville, Minnesota. Miss Grace Nute of the MSS. Division of the Minnesota Historical Society has been indefatigable in collecting and indexing records of the Indian missions. Photostatic copies of material of Minnesota interest taken from the Archives of the Diocese of Quebec are available in the library of the Minn. Hist. Soc. The same library and the library of St. John's University have each a complete set of the *Berichte,* or reports, of the *Leopoldinen-Stiftung,* commencing with the year 1831. A file of the *Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens* consisting of reports of the missionaries sent out by the Ludwig-Missionverein is also in the library

It was due, no doubt, to lack of readily accessible data that such a scholarly work as that of the late Dr. Folwell, which deals at length with the different Protestant missions among the Sioux and Chippewa, should devote but a single paragraph to Catholic missions. According to Folwell, "The only Catholic mission to the Sioux, tardily begun, was that of the Reverend Augustin Ravoux, a French cleric, who, in 1841, was commissioned by the bishop of St. Louis to visit the nation."[4] As Folwell makes no reference to any earlier missionary activities, save those of the Jesuits in 1727, he was evidently under the impression that the Catholics had no nineteenth century missions in Minnesota prior to those founded by Father Ravoux at Traverse des Sioux, Lac qui Parle, Chaska and other places in Sioux territory. There were, however, two rather notable centres of Catholic missionary activity farther to the north; one in the Red River valley near the Canadian border, the other in the northeast corner of the present state.

It is recorded that as early as 1818, two years before the building of Fort Snelling, the first American stronghold in Minnesota, Father Dumoulin of the diocese of Quebec and William Edge, a young catechist and school teacher, went to a settlement at Pembina on the Red River, which at a later period became a part of Minnesota Territory. Here a school and church were soon built. At the beginning of the following year the attendance of the school was sixty, and most of the pupils had learned to read and "knew the catechism by rote." Mr. Edge was succeeded in 1820 by Mr. Sauvi, a young Canadian, who continued in charge of the school until the summer of 1823, when the Hudson's Bay Company, which had brought the missionaries, having

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of St. John's University. Additional data concerning the Minnesota missions may be gleaned from *Acta et Dicta, Catholic Directories, Minnesota Historical Collections* published by the Minn. Hist. Soc., as well as from the official publications of the U. S. Government, such as U. S. Executive Documents, Senate Documents, and Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

[3] Reverend Matthias M. Hoffman, "The Winnebago Mission: A Cause Célèbre," MID-AMERICA, July, 1930, pp. 26-52.

[4] See W. W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota,* I, 207. A brief bibliography of Father Ravoux's life and writings is given in a footnote on the same page.

discovered that Pembina was in American territory, compelled them to recross the border and remove to St. Boniface, near Winnipeg. The Pembina mission was not abandoned, however, for Canadian priests made occasional visits, and a permanent mission was once more established about 1830. The colonists, we are told, were of three classes: Europeans, Scotch, Irish, Swiss, and French—the white population; the half-breeds—bois brûlés; and the savages. Of these the half-breeds were the most numerous. In 1844 the Sisters of Charity or Grey Nuns (Soeurs Grises) were introduced from Canada and took charge of the school on their arrival. Father Georges A. Belcourt (1803-1874), who was pastor of Pembina for several years, submitted a report on the Pembina mission in 1851 and comments favorably on the work of the Sisters.[5]

From what has been written it is clear that the missionary school at Pembina antedated the post school at Fort Snelling and was therefore the first school in Minnesota Territory. On the organization of the state, however, Pembina was excluded and henceforth became part of Dakota, thereby losing its claim to have the first school within the limits of the present state. For the same technical reason it cannot claim to be the site of the first Catholic school in Minnesota. This honor belongs to Grand Portage, once a great collecting and distributing centre for the fur trade in the northwest. For this purpose it was favorably located, being on the peninsula between the Pigeon River and Lake Superior. Here the Reverend Francis Pierz (or Pirec), the Slovenian missionary of the Chippewa Indians, established a mission and school in 1838. In the following year this school was attended by fifty-eight Indian and seventeen French children. In order to civilize the Indians Father Pierz taught not only religion, reading, and writing, but also a practical economy calculated to advance their temporal and eternal welfare. The women were taught sewing and knitting and the men were shown how to use sickle, scythe, plow, and flail. The missionary's work was not plain sailing. He encountered serious difficulties. These were due in part to the wandering habits of the Indians, which tended to disrupt classes. To overcome this handicap the missionary did his best to get them to build houses and cultivate the soil. The fur traders, however, put obstacles in the way. These were unwilling that the Indians should give up hunting for the settled occupation of farming. Another serious difficulty was the Indian's appetite for strong liquor, to which the traders readily catered. The bootleggers of the day apparently reaped a rich harvest, for records show that the Indians on occasion paid as much as twenty dollars for a bottle of whisky and fifty blankets for two gallons of a peculiar brand of liquor made up of tobacco juice, water, and some whisky. Another crying evil against which Father Pierz had reason to protest was the practice of selling copper kettles to ignorant Indians and flour mixed with clay which caused many deaths.

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[5] Father Belcourt's report is given in English translation in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* Volume I, (1851). Father Burns in his *Catholic School System in the United States,* p. 320, cites a letter of Right Reverend John Shanley, Bishop of Fargo, as his source of information about the Pembina mission. See also *Rapport sur les Missions du diocése de Quebec* during the thirties and forties for Belcourt's activities.

Under such unfavorable circumstances most men would have become discouraged, but Father Pierz was no ordinary man. Although he had attained the age of fifty-five when he arrived in Minnesota, he devoted almost all of the next thirty-five years of his long and strenuous life to laboring among his dear Chippewa. His efforts were not without a measure of success and he had some consolations. He praises the intelligence of his pupils, who learned more readily than the Ottawa, with whom he had previous experience. He instructed many of the pagan Indians and seems to have acquired marvelous power over them, even to the extent of quelling an uprising against the white settlers in 1863. Another point to be noted is that whereas Protestant teachers got subsidies from the government of the United States, Father Pierz's appeal for a small allowance for a teacher's salary was left unheeded. It is to the credit of the Leopoldine Society of Vienna and the Ludwig Mission Society of Bavaria that they responded to the appeals of the zealous missionary so far as their slender resources permitted. During the thirty-five years of his active missionary work in Minnesota Father Pierz established schools at every point of vantage, notably at Grand Portage and Crow Wing. Not until his eighty-eighth year was he unfit for active service and notwithstanding all the hardships he encountered he lived to the ripe old age of ninety-five. Among others who labored more or less successfully among the Indians of northeastern Minnesota occur the names of Father Frederick Baraga, later Bishop Baraga, Father Laurence Lautischar, who was frozen to death when returning from a sick call to a heathen Indian, Father Otto Skolla, a Franciscan, Fathers Joseph Buh, John Zuzek, Ignatius Tomazin, and James

Trobec, but of all these the work of Father Pierz was the most outstanding.[6]

The third field of missionary activity, that of Father Augustin Ravoux among the Sioux, has been mentioned. The work of this famous missionary can be best studied in his own writings.[7] He acquired a knowledge of the Sioux, or Dakota, language sufficient for missionary purposes and even wrote a little book in it entitled *The Path of the House of God* (Wakantanka ti ki canku). The first edition appeared in 1843 and a second was published twenty years later. Father Ravoux, like his contemporary Father Pierz, lived to a ripe old age. For many years he held the office of vicar-general in the diocese of St. Paul. He died in 1906 much respected by all who knew him.

In connection with the missionary work carried on among the Sioux reference should also be made to the visit of Bishop Mathias Loras, the first bishop of Dubuque, two years before the arrival of Father Ravoux. Accompanied by a young priest, Abbé Pelamourges, and an interpreter familiar with the Sioux or Dakota language, Bishop Loras in 1839 visited St. Peter's, the trading post, fort, and Indian agency at the mouth of the Minnesota River where it joins the Mississippi. Among others baptized by the bishop were some Sioux women. Of these Indian women and their families the bishop wrote: "We baptize a great number of children, and find the women favorably disposed towards religion. I have many of them at present under instruction who are married to Canadians and Irishmen, and am preparing them to receive on Sunday next the sacrament of the Eucharist and Confirmation."[8]

There was still a fourth field of missionary activity. This was among the Winnebago nation which was induced, or rather coerced, to leave Iowa for a reservation on Minnesota soil. It would appear to have been the policy of the government of the United States to locate the Winnebago as a sort of buffer nation between the hostile Sioux and Chippewa. At any rate, from 1848 to 1855 a part of the once virile and wealthy, but now sadly degenerated Winnebago nation was settled at Long Prairie in Todd County, Minnesota.[9] Father Hoffman has recounted some of the obstacles placed in the way of making provision for the Catholic education of the Winnebago.[10] The Minnesota history of this tribe provides parallel instances evidently inspired by motives similar to those operating when the tribe was at Prairie du Chien.

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[6] A well-documented and scholarly article written by Sister Grace McDonald, O. S. B., and entitled "Father Francis Pierz, Missionary" appeared in *Minnesota History,* June, 1929, pp. 107-125. A photograph of the famous missionary will be found opposite p. 107. This article and manuscript notes which Sister Grace kindly placed at the writer's service have been drawn upon in the preparation of this paper and are gratefully acknowledged.

[7] Augustin Ravoux, *Reminiscences, Memoirs and Lectures,* St. Paul, 1890; Ravoux to Sibley, December 15, 1866, Sibley Papers, Minn. Hist. Soc.; *Labors of Mgr. A. Ravoux among the Sioux or Dakota Indians,* St. Paul, 1897 (pamphlet).

[8] Bishop Loras's letter of July, 1839, published in *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith* 3:345 cited by M. M. Hoffman in "Old St. Peter's and Early St. Paul," *Minnesota History,* Vol. 8, No. 1, March, 1927, p. 40. This well-written and carefully documented article (pp. 27-51) contains much interesting information about the visit of Bishop Loras in 1839.

The persistent efforts of Bishop Cretin were not, however, quite fruitless. In the fall of 1851 he appointed the Reverend Francis de Vivaldi to organize the Indian mission and school at Long Prairie. The following January Sister Scholastica Vasques was sent from the recently founded convent of the Sisters of St. Joseph in St. Paul to teach the school. She was assisted by a young French lady, Miss Legeau, whose family provided a temporary home. In the fall of 1852 the mission was placed on a permanent basis. Sister Cesarine Mulvy joined Sister Scholastica at this time and in May, 1853, a third Sister—Sister Simeon Kane—joined the staff of the school.[11]

The Indians lived in tents and wigwams. The children attended the school as day pupils and were provided with food and clothing. The Sisters taught the pupils all they were capable of learning of the common school branches, reading, writing, spelling, etc. The girls were taught to knit and sew. A man was employed to teach the boys farming. For this purpose he had the different farming implements in common use at the time as well as a number of horses which the boys were trained to take care of and manage. As a result of a contract with the United States government, the Sisters were to receive forty dollars a month, the farmer fifty dollars, and the superintendent (Father de Vivaldi) sixty dollars, but this was not regularly paid during the period of Fridley's agency, as we learn from a report which Father Vivaldi sent to Fletcher, the new agent. Complaint is made of Fridley's hostility. He is accused of endeavoring to place members of his own family in charge of the school and when Father Vivaldi refused to receive them the agent gave them the salaries due to others and withheld the payment necessary for the support of the school. The result was that Vivaldi was obliged to advance funds for teachers, books, provisions, and clothes, for all of which at the date of writing no compensation had been made. In the same report Vivaldi takes occasion to refute a statement, made by Fridley in a previous report, that the Winnebago were opposed to the school. In September, 1853, the attendance was sixty-two, but the trouble between the Chippewa and the Winnebago interfered with the attendance. Before Vivaldi took charge the manual labor system had been put into effect and was highly praised by its advocates, but Vivaldi found when he arrived on the scene that no one could read, write, or spell. His policy, on the other hand, was to combine labor with school work.[12]

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[9] See W. W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota,* I, 308-320, for the removal of the Winnebago to Minnesota, a somewhat unsavory chapter in Minnesota politics.

[10] Matthias M. Hoffman, "The Winnebago Mission: A Cause Célèbre," MID-AMERICA, July, 1930, pp. 26-52.

[11] *Acta et Dicta,* III, No. 2, pp. 276-282; Sister Lucida Savage, *The Congregation of St. Joseph of Carondelet,* St. Louis, 1923, pp. 87-88.

The following year the attendance had dropped to forty-three, the decrease being attributed to the persuasions of certain unmentioned persons who tried every expedient to keep the Winnebago away from the agency. From the report made by Agent Fletcher to Governor Gorman we are led to infer that payment was made on a per capita basis and that as a result of the small attendance, due to the unsettled state of the Indians, Bishop Cretin suffered a pecuniary loss. Moreover, this loss was further increased when two large buildings belonging to the Sisters were destroyed by fire. Fletcher was apparently well satisfied with the manner in which the schools were conducted by Vivaldi and the Sisters of St. Joseph; but Vivaldi in his report, the following year, points out the need of a more effective system if the Winnebago children were to become good citizens. The five hours each day spent in school to which they came for food and clothing were not sufficient to bring about a lasting change. The bad example of companions who did not attend school paralyzed the efforts of the teachers. He therefore recommended a boarding school where the pupils would be safe from harmful home influences. This projected plan never had a chance to be put into effect, for in May, 1855, the Winnebago were moved once more and the school at Long Prairie was closed. The Sisters of St. Joseph returned to St. Paul where their services were urgently needed because of the rapidly growing enrollment of their schools in that thriving village and its environs.[13]

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[12] For Fridley's report dated Long Prairie, September 9, 1852, see Senate Documents, 2nd Sess. 32 Cong. 1852-53, Vol. I, pp. 342-343; and for Vivaldi's to Fletcher dated Long Prairie, September 4, 1853, see Senate Documents, 1st Sess. 33 Cong., Vol. I, 1853, No. 690, pp. 312-313.

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Cleveland, Ohio.

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[13] See Fletcher to Gorman, September, 1854, Senate Documents, 2nd Sess. 33 Cong., Vol. I, 1854-55, No. 746. Fletcher wrongly speaks of the Sisters of St. Joseph as Sisters of Charity. Others have made the same mistake. *Acta et Dicta,* III, No. 2, p. 282. Cretin to *Association pour la Propagation de la Foi,* February 22, 1854.

PIONEER CATHOLICS OF NODAWAY COUNTY, MISSOURI, 1846-1873

I

Nodaway County received its first white settler in 1839.[1] At that time "many Indian families still roamed at will over their once happy hunting grounds."[2] Indeed, "parts of tribes of these Indians continued here as late as 1856,"[3] and the last of the red men to leave are said to have been the Potawatomi. It is possible, therefore, that the Catholic Potawatomi, who were a minority in that tribe, were even at this time occasional wanderers in Nodaway County. Certainly Catholic Indians, among others, hunted in Nodaway County during the earlier period when it was assigned to the Potawatomi tribe, with their headquarters at the government agency opposite Fort Leavenworth. Of direct evidence of visits of Indian missionaries as far north as Nodaway County we have none, nor is it necessary to suppose that any took place.

In 1846 Edmund Graves Bickett, a Catholic, moved with his family from Marion County, Kentucky, and occupied a farm about four miles east of Maryville.[4] His son, George, transmits the following account of the early days. On account of low water in the Missouri they were compelled to disembark at Weston. The rest of the way overland was made by the use of teams, probably ox teams. At that time (November 1, 1846) there were six houses in Maryville. One man was county clerk, collector, assessor, and "everything but the judge."[5] This was Amos Graham, after whose wife, Mary, the county seat was named.

Mail was brought to Maryville in those days by stage from St. Joseph to Savannah. On this route the Sixteen Mile House (about half-way to Savannah) stood below White Cloud creek. In lieu of bridges, the brush left along the river margins by rail splitters would often collect at flood time at a bench or other construction, allowing a rider to cross dry shod while his pony swam the river. Bickett recalls an occasion of later date when Father Power on his way across the "Big Prairie" from Conception to Maryville had to wait until a flood on the One Hundred and Two had subsided. Fenced enclosures were made at that time, "not to keep stuff in, but to keep stuff out."

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[1] *Nodaway County Past and Present,* Indianapolis, 1910, I, p. 42.

[2] *Op. cit.,* p. 27.

[3] *Op. cit., Ibid.*

[4] George Bickett, son of the above named, blind for many years, and noted for his accurate memory, was visited by the writer of this sketch in January, 1930. George Bickett's remote ancestors came from Ireland. Not only do the facts he relates from memory harmonize with recorded facts, but his memory of days and dates stands the test of comparison with a calendar.

[5] *Nodaway County Past and Present,* I, p. 330.

"On September 11, 1870, the *first cyclone* blew our house away, and made a cripple of my father." This was the "first *hewed* log house in Nodaway County," a "sixteen by eighteen, a story and a half, with shed room to the north." To replace this a frame house of like dimensions was built.

Though there were perhaps some "ought-to-be" Catholics, yet "pa said he was the first practicing Catholic" in or near Maryville. A relative, Harris by name, came to Missouri in 1848, but moved to California with the gold rush the following year.[6]

II

The story of the beginning of organized Catholic life in Nodaway County, and that means the life of a parish in union with its priest, takes us back to Reading, in Berks County, Pennsylvania.[7] There, in the year 1856, prevailed the quiet that goes before a storm. The storm was the economic crisis of 1857, whose first flurries were then being felt, augmented by the more distant rumblings that presaged the outbreak of Civil War. Doubtless the crisis confronting the future colonists, a crisis which they attempted to meet, was chiefly the economic one, towards which the prospect of Civil War was a contributing cause.[8] The momentary quiet was due to the steady employment and good wages that had prevailed during the two years just past, and to the further fact that a good number of the employees, including many Irish, had saved tidy sums of money.

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[6] Dr. Joseph Bickett figures in the following incident. When sixteen years old (i.e. in 1876) our informant, George Bickett, with some other boys, wrestled and played in the melting snow until they were saturated with a mixture of water, snow and sweat. That night he woke up with rheumatism, unable to move his legs. His mother took care of him and a doctor was called, but still he was unable even to turn over in bed. Then appeared Dr. Bickett, known as the "water doctor" because of his skill in the use of hot and cold water. Under his directions Permelia (the mother's name), took snapped corn, platted it (i.e. the husks), boiled it, corn and all, and applied it to the stiffened legs. Before night the patient was able to straighten his legs. Then with an ointment made of red pepper cooked in lard his legs were greased and the next day he could walk.

[7] For this account of the colony's organization and of the early days of the actual settlement, we are indebted, save as otherwise noted, to Right Reverend Monsignor James P. Brady of St. Joseph. Msgr. Brady has preserved and kindly furnished his own pencil sketch of his response to the toast "Conception," delivered September 4, 1906, at the simultaneous Golden Jubilee celebration of the founding of Conception and of the priesthood of Abbot Frowin Conrad, O. S. B., first Abbot and Founder of Conception Abbey. All these facts Msgr. Brady learned at first hand accurately from his parents, who were members of the first actual colonizing expedition. Indeed, William Brady, his father, was the leader of this pioneer group of settlers.

The big employer was the Lebanon Valley Railroad, then in course of construction from Reading to Harrisburg. The contractors engaged in building this road were Owen and Peter O'Reilly, their paymaster, William Brady.[9] Of both the contractors and of a large body of their men, Father James A. Power was "bosom friend and faithful shepherd.[10]

In view of the darkening prospects, the employers, who could more clearly foresee the future lack of employment, looked about for means of relief for these good, industrious men and their families, who were largely of the same race and faith with themselves. Father Power was called into consultation not only because his judgment was valued by the promoters of relief but because his advice would be heeded by the men. At a second meeting, after a few intervening days of deliberation, Father Power "suggested that a Catholic colony be formed by these men, and laid before the meeting plans for the purchase of government lands in the west. The suggestion was accepted as an inspiration and received the hearty endorsement of all. It spread through the community like wildfire and was hailed as a benediction from Heaven. Another meeting was called in a few days and was largely attended. After some discussion as to the location and manner of procedure it was decided to open a subscription list for the purchase of government land, each subscriber to receive land at its first cost in proportion to the amount of his subscription. The list was opened then and there and the shares went very rapidly. More than nine thousand dollars was subscribed at the meeting. The list was left open until it was thought all had subscribed who wished to. On examination it was discovered that there were fifty-eight subscribers and that twenty thousand dollars was subscribed.

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[8] The financial crisis of 1857 was nation-wide, being felt in the West as well as the East.

[9] William Brady was born at Old Castle, County Meath, Ireland, January 1, 1818. His voyage to America, September 8 to October 14, 1849, is described by him in a vivid, realistic diary of the trip now preserved in the archives of Conception Abbey. The impatient hurry of the young man, the sometimes caustic comment of a shrewd observer, sly humor, and philosophic observations on death, several times witnessed during the trip, all occur in the thirty-two small pages of this diary. Mr. Brady appears to have been among those members of the colony who lived some years in Brooklyn or in Philadelphia before locating at Reading. He died in 1903 at Conception. His wife, to whom he was married shortly before coming west, had lived in Brooklyn. She was a Growney.

[10] "James Power was born on May 10, 1815, at Ballykalane, in the Parish of Portlaw, Waterford County, Ireland. His parents were the farmers, David Power and Bridget Whelan. . . . After getting some schooling in his native town the young man made his clerical studies at St. John's College, Waterford . But being almost through with them he resolved to take up Mission work in the United States and left Ireland in 1845. He finished his theological course at Philadelphia, Pa., and was ordained priest there for the diocese of Pittsburgh, on March 9, 1846, by the Rt. Rev. Francis Kenrick. After his ordination he served in that city as an assistant to a Father Sheridan, became subsequently professor in a college at Pittsburgh and was at last appointed parish priest in Reading, Pa. . . . Father Power was a well educated man, especially for that time. He was also a man of the kindest disposition . . . a priest with an apostolic heart . . . he was simplicity itself, more than satisfied with what a poor flock could give him. . . . Father Power made, of course, all his trips on horseback, traveling that way hundreds and thousands of miles. . . . He was middle sized; well proportioned though rather slim; he had black hair and a sad but attractive look. After he had resigned his charge at Conception he travelled extensively. . . . The last time he visited there at Conception was on May 30, 1897, at the occasion of the ordination and first holy Mass of the Rev. James Brady, his namesake, the son of his old friend Judge Brady" (From *Memoirs of an Old Country Pastor,* Cottonwood, Idaho, 1922, by Rev. Placid Schmidt, O. S. B., pp. 9 *et seq.*). Father Power "died May 5, 1899, at the College of the Christian Brothers at St. Joseph." *Op. cit., Ibid.*

"Forthwith the committee consisting of Father Power, Owen O'Reilly and Anthony Felix, which had been appointed at the last meeting, set out in search of a location. They spent some time in Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas, but without success, finding it difficult to secure a twenty thousand acre tract suitable to the purpose. Rather discouraged they turned homeward, and on their way stopped at St. Joseph. They met Father Scanlan there, the pastor of the place. He told them of this tract in Nodaway County. . . . They at once went to Plattsburg, Missouri, where the land office was at the time. Arriving there, another disappointment met them. They were told that the land office was closed, and were advised to go to the General Office at Washington, D. C.[11]

They returned home and made their report. On the strength of their report another committee was appointed to go to the General Land Office at Washington, and enter the land there.

Thomas Hendricks, who was in charge, received the committee most kindly and, on hearing their petition, reported on it favorably and had the land entered under the corporate name of McLaughlin and Felix, the committee men's names.

Their return to Reading was awaited with interest and hailed with delight when it was learned that they had met with success.

Another change was soon, however, to blight their hopes, and seemingly a darker one than ever before. It was learned that, while the land was being entered at Washington, the office at Plattsburg was reopened and the land sold to other parties. The only recourse now was to the law, with its slow and uncertain methods. The case finally came before the Committee on Public Lands of the United States Senate, and was decided in favor of the prospective colonists.[12]

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[11] This advice came somewhat later and was given by the colony's agent at St. Joseph, Jeff Thompson.

From the documents and papers embodied in the Report of the Senate Committee mentioned above, and printed under date of June 1, 1858, certain facts pertinent to the history of the colony may be gathered. Thus, on page 3, we read from an affidavit:

> "On the 27th of October, 1856, the aforesaid committee departed from Reading to carry out the instructions of said association. They proceeded to St. Paul, Minnesota, being satisfied that that locality would not suit. They went southward and arrived at Fort Leavenworth, and attended the sale there on the 17th of November. On account of the great competition and consequent high price of land, they could not purchase at that sale. They then turned their attention to the public lands of Missouri, and inspected and examined the lands in Nodaway County, and were satisfied that those lands would suit our purposes. On the 26th of November two of said committee, viz. Anthony S. Felix and O'Reilly, personally applied at the land office at Plattsburg, to enter lands, and were denied the right (the registrar being present), and being informed that the office had closed on the 15th of November, and that they could not state when it would be opened again, they then appointed M. Jeff. Thompson, Esq., of St. Joseph, Missouri, our agent, and returned home.[13]
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> After their return, M. Jeff. Thompson corresponded with the association [i. e. the land association in Reading], and stated that he was of the opinion that when the receiver and registrar closed an office contrary to law, the military bounty land warrants could be entered at the General Land Office. With this conviction he forwarded to us a map of Nodaway and part of Gentry counties."[14]

There is no conclusive evidence from the record of religious bias as a motive in the attempt to exclude the Pennsylvania colonists. For the practice, complained of in general by the commissioner of the General Land Office at Washington, had been going on for months before our committee came to Missouri. This was the practice of opening the land office at Plattsburg for one day, and then closing it arbitrarily for weeks or months, without legal authority to do so.[15] "Thus the land office at Plattsburg was closed from the 1st of July to the 1st of September, 1856, and then opened for one day; was again closed until the 1st of November, and then opened for one day; was again closed until the 2nd of March, 1857, and then opened for one day, and again closed.[16]

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[12] Brady, "Conception." Thomas Hendricks was elected Vice-President of the United States in 1884, but died the following year.

[13] Jeff Thompson, born at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, was engineer on the first railroad into St. Joseph, the Hannibal and St. Joseph, the construction of which was completed in 1859. He was city engineer of St. Joseph in 1858, Mayor in 1859, President of the Elwood and Marysville railroad in 1860. His own interests, and thereby, as it seems, also those of St. Joseph, suffered by his espousing the Southern cause. His plans for St. Joseph were far-reaching and apparently well laid. In the Confederate Army he became brigadier-general, and gained fame as the "Swamp Fox." After the war he was appointed Surveyor General of Louisiana. He died in St. Joseph, September 5, 1876. (*History of Buchanan County and St. Joseph,* St. Joseph, 1898, II, p. 340.)

[14] From a sworn statement made by both committees of the colony, at Reading, April 8, 1857, and forwarded to the Commissioner of the General Land Office. *Sen. Docs., 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 289, p. 3.*

Relinquishing the investigation of the validity of such practice to the Executive branch of government, the Senate Committee confined itself to the case in hand and found that the informal "descriptive lists" given to applicants for land at Plattsburg on March 2, 1857, had no legal effect, as against third parties and the public at large, until such "descriptive" and merely tentative lists were formally recognized and executed.[17] This execution, in regard to the contested lands, did not begin to take place for at least eight days thereafter.[18]

In the meantime, on March 7, 1857, there arrived at Plattsburg from the General Land Office at Washington the formal entry of Felix, McLaughlin and Company for twenty thousand acres of land. This, having been executed at Washington February 6, 1857, became legally effective upon arrival at the local land office, provided only the lands therein specifically applied for were yet vacant in point of law, as indeed they were held to be.[19]

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[15] *Op. cit.,* p. 28.

[16] *Op. cit.,* p. 8. The reason alleged for thus closing the office is stated as follows by the Senate Committee: "That in consequence of the closing of the land offices in the state of Iowa, by reason of the act approved May 15, 1856, granting lands to that State for the construction of railroads, the number of purchasers and other applicants at the land offices in Missouri, and particularly at Plattsburg became greater than could be accommodated; that, to meet such an emergency, the registrar at Plattsburg recorded the name of each applicant in order, upon a list, and appointed a day for the consideration of his case; that this system, having been found liable to abuse, was abandoned in June, 1856, and another established, namely, that of closing the land office until all the applications received had been examined and finally settled" (*Op. cit.,* p. 8). This practice was not condemned by the Senate Committee, though protested by the Commissioner of the General Land Office at Washington.

[17] Such investigation was apparently never undertaken. However, the commissioner at Plattsburg was summarily discharged. (*Op. cit.,* p. 41.)

[18] *Op. cit.,* p. 81.

[19] *Op. cit.,* p. 11.

To Jeff Thompson, therefore, the St. Joseph agent of the colony, belongs the initial credit for having recommended the proper procedure. For, in January, 1857, he had recommended entering the lands directly at the General Land Office, by means of military bounty warrants.[20] The first committee, however, on their return trip to Reading, had begun the purchase of these warrants.

Some prejudice against the Reading colony on the score of its being a settlement from a free state appears in a letter of one of the claimants to the land entered by them. The following is a quotation therefrom: ". . . the recent political troubles of our State seem to demonstrate that we have more of just such men than is desirable; and had this colony been here at our last election (just past), Missouri would probably have had a governor pledged to "emancipation," instead of a pro-slavery democratic governor."[21] Much of the disputed land had, in fact, been claimed on behalf of settlers from the state of Kentucky, so that there would naturally be some friction arising from rivalry over the slave question.[22]

III

"Even while this legal controversy was going on," writes Msgr. Brady, "some of the colonists, impatient and uneasy in their idle and uncertain circumstances, and anxious for the experiences of the new life and the supposed pleasures of building for themselves permanent homes, started out for the wilds of the west.[23] They went by rail to St. Louis, and thence up the

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[20] *Op. cit.,* p. 111.

[21] *Op. cit.,* p. 114.

[22] *Op. cit.,* p. 11.

[23] It is not without interest to record here that St. Peter's church, the only Catholic church in Reading at the time our colonists migrated, is directly connected with and sprang from the church which boasts the possession of the oldest Catholic Church records, as far as is known, of the thirteen original states. This proud distinction belongs to the church at Goshenhoppen, later Churchtown, and now Bally, Pa., not far from Reading. It was an early mission center for the whole district. Baptisms, etc., performed at Reading are recorded in these books. "Here [Goshenhoppen] to this pleasant quiet land came Father Theodore Schneider in the year 1741, and here he built a house and a church, the latter still standing and now enshrining the grave of its founder." (Conner, "The Early Registers of the Catholic Church in Pa.," *Records of the Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc.,* II, (1889), p. 27). For fac-simile of records above noted see Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days,* New York, 1886, p. 393. "As far back as 1741, and even prior to that date, Father Farmer and other priests of St. Joseph's Church of Philadelphia, made missionary visits to the Goshenhoppen districts." ("Historical Sketch of the Mission of Goshenhoppen, now Churchville, Pa.," in *Amer. Cath. Hist. Researches,* XVII (1900), pp. 97-104, reprinted from *Woodstock Letters,* V (1876).) "The tract of land

Missouri River to St. Joseph. On landing there, my father (who headed the first band) bought a yoke of oxen, a covered wagon, a supply of provisions, and articles for general use and started out overland for their future home."[24]

Of this first party, which was a majority of the original fifty-eight members, apparently only fourteen adult persons persevered in their intention and actually located on the land at Conception at this time. The greater part are said to have remained at St. Joseph, where the party arrived the first part of April, 1858.[25]

> "It was at 10:00 A. M. Friday morning, April 16, 1858, that the courageous minority parted from their companions in St. Joseph and started towards the pathless wilderness that lay before them. The party consisted of William Brady, John McCarthy and his wife with two boys, four and one year old respectively, Philip Growney and his wife, Jeremias Sullivan with his wife and their three small children, Michael Fagan and his wife Margaret, John Growney and the two brothers, Thomas and Edward Reilly.[26] Five wagons drawn by oxen contained their household goods.

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belonging to the Mission of Goshenhoppen . . . was bought by the Rev. Jos. Greaton, S. J., clerk or priest of Phil., from Thomas and Richard Penn." (*Op. cit., ibid.*). The following is evidence of the early growth and vigor of Reading, an offshoot from Goshenhoppen: "The popish congregation here [Reading] are served by a Jesuit priest once a month, and, it appears, are a considerable body from the number of communicants among them on Trinity Sunday last who are said to have exceeded two hundred." (Written June 25, 1765, by Rev. Mr. Murry, a Church of England minister. *Op. cit.*, XIX, p. 187.) "Father Schneider's mission embraced the provinces of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. . . . Owing to the bigotry of the times and the open persecution . . . he found it necessary to travel under the guise of a physician. . . . This old Jesuit missionary, . . . found time, and in his one apartment, room to teach a school, which was eagerly attended by the few children of both Catholics and Protestants." (*Woodstock Letters,* V, (1876), p. 203.)

[24] Brady, "Conception."

[25] The following picture of St. Joseph in 1858 is taken from *M. Jeff Thompson's Real Estate Bulletin* of that year, p. 6. "The population of from six to eight thousand is multiplying with unprecedented rapidity; business in every department is spreading and increasing; mills, foundries, distilleries and manufactories, are in active operation; two first class hotels are in course of erection, and houses of every kind are being built as fast as workmen can put them up." This Bulletin offered farms for sale in Buchanan County at from fifteen dollars to forty dollars an acre. It likewise offered a total of two hundred and twenty-three farms for sale in Nodaway County, but listed no prices. A copy of this Bulletin is in the Missouri Hist. Soc. Library (St. Louis).

[26] The only survivor is Mr. James Sullivan living at Conception. Besides those mentioned above, however, James Sullivan speaks of an Uncle Tim Sullivan, who in particular came near drowning in the Platte River episode. He further recounts that he himself, one year old at the time, was carried in the arms of his mother afoot, to avoid the contagion of measles from another child in the wagon.

> Everybody, the women not excepted, walked, because the measles had broken out among the children and they were afraid to sit beside them on the wagon which had been made ready for the ladies. On the second day, Saturday, they spent the night three miles southwest of Whitesfield [Whitesville]; on the third day, Sunday, they crossed the Platte River on a boat which leaked so badly that they were almost drowned. At last on the following Tuesday, April 20, 1858, they arrived at Conception. . . . Here Silas Best, who lived one and a fourth miles northwest of the present church, sheltered them for two weeks, during which time William Brady went to Maryville, the county seat, to find the exact location of their land. . . .
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> The size of each farm being established, William Brady, Philip Growney and John McCarthy erected on the place afterward known as the McCarthy farm, four and a half miles northwest of the present town of Conception, a shanty 12x15 feet. It was built out of posts, filled in between with sod and roofed over with boards. Fagan, Sullivan, and the Reilly boys built each a dwelling for themselves.
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> Now the farm work commenced. It was a "wet" year and the men had, besides, all kinds of trouble with their oxen, which they did not know how to handle. There was only one horse in the colony for three or four years. They called it 'Charley' and attached a small stable for it to one of their shanties. . . ."[27]

Such were the physical conditions amid which the newly planted colony found itself. To us looking back from the vantage ground of present-day results it seems quite the natural and orthodox way to begin a new settlement. How the situation impressed the feelings and the imagination of the colonists themselves appears in the following words: "Their former anxieties, disappointments and grief on leaving their homes now gave way to the disheartening realities of the plains. To those who had lived for ten and fifteen years in Brooklyn, Philadelphia and Reading amid the buzz of business, and all the social advantages and domestic comforts that were offered even to those of moderate means, it was a gloomy and distressing outlook. . . . Nothing to be seen around them but wild rolling hills with their coat of gray grass fallen and flattened by the snow of the winter, no sign or sound of life but the flutter of the quail and the crowing and cackling of prairie chickens and wild geese. . . . It was often said and always believed that were it not for the strong character of some of the leaders, and the benign influence of Father Power, many of the colonists would have abandoned the plains."[28]

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[27] Schmidt, *Memoirs,* p. 6 *et seq.*

[28] Brady, "Conception."

As evidence of the aforesaid "strong character" of some of the leading colonists we cannot refrain from quoting the following from a letter of William Brady at Maryville to Owen O'Reilly at Reading dated March 27, 1859: "Have you done anything yet for Father Power? [There seems to be some question here of the stay-at-home investors and promoters of the project aiding Father Power to locate *permanently* with the colony.] I fear you are too long coming about it to do much good. We are all anxiously watching the result, especially the women, they pretend to be most anxious to have Father Power permanently settled here, but I know they secretly hope for quite the reverse, because it would afford them a very plausible pretext for leaving here, all entirely for the good of their souls of course.

"This much I do know, that if Mrs. B. was sure, upon condition of living all her lifetime here, that St. Peter would send an express train for her own especial accommodation to take her up straight into heaven the moment she gave the last kick, still she would prefer living elsewhere and run the risk of paddling her own canoe to heaven the best way she could. So much for the soul's concern. . . ."[29]

From this letter we learn that still among the trusted advisers of Father Power was Jeff Thompson. We learn also that Graham, the county Recorder, and first resident of Maryville, was consulted on matters of business policy both by Father Power and by Brady himself. Of Dr. Bickett, whom we have met before, and who was at this time County Treasurer, Brady writes that he "is a particular friend of Father Scanlan's and knows all about our affairs. He is also considerable of a land speculator and well posted up in these matters."

In regard to the still pending threat of further lawsuit in regard to their land titles, Brady has this to say of H. Felix of Reading, member of the second committee, who gave his name to the corporate title, Felix and McLaughlin: "I don't see anything that can be done about it, unless the redoubtable and far-famed H. Felix takes hold of it, if he does he is sure to carry all before him."[30]

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[29] This letter is preserved in the archives at Conception Abbey by courtesy of the O'Reillys of Reading, Pa.

[30] Anthony Felix was on the first (western) committee of the Reading colony; Henry Felix, on the second (Washington) committee. Henry Felix personally perfected the titles to the land by completing the legal entry of them at Plattsburg early in August, 1857, acting through a special order of the commissioner of the General Land Office. The Senate Committee

Returning to Father Power and his "benign influence," we find that "Father Power came shortly after as did the other colonists[31] and followed suit with sod wall houses as shelter until fall, when a sawmill was put in operation in timber along the Platte, furnishing native lumber for more suitable dwellings.[32] Again, "although Father Power did not remain continually with them he came on his little gray pony from St. Joseph at regular intervals to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the Mass, to administer the sacraments, and to go from house to house speaking words that comforted, encouraged and strengthened. He succeeded in building a little colony house, 24 by 30."[33]

On June 9, 1860, this colony house, which served as chapel, pastor's residence, meeting place, post office (1862) and school (1865), was dedicated in honor of St. Columba. The Conception post office got its mail overland from Guilford, as did also, farther along the route, Old Sweet Home and Alanthus.

The name Conception at first denoted the settlement generally, i. e. the colony and its territory. Proof of this is the first baptismal entry by Father Power, October 25, 1858, containing the following, "coloni loci Catholici vocati Conception" (i e. "settlers of the Catholic place called Conception"). When the site of the colony village and trading point was plotted by Father Power and William Brady in 1860, that was also called Conception. This shows a tradition, and a strong sentiment in

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merely upheld this earlier decision of the Commissioner. Henry Felix is remembered in Reading for his charities. He endowed there St. Michael's Academy that was. (*Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* XXXI, p. 329.) Mrs. Barbara Reuss, who says that her parents "moved to Reading about the time of General Jackson's election for his second term for the Presidency," adds, "The principal families of note were the Reppliers, Allgeirs and Felixes." (*Op. cit.,* vol. ?, p. 210.)

[31] i. e. some of them. William Brady's letter (1859) refers to certain of the land holding colonists or promoters residing at St. Joseph, others at Reading.

[32] Brady, "Conception."

[33] *Op. cit.* This house was located on the present Pfeifer farm, about one-half mile north of the present cemetery. The building, since removed, still stood in 1906, and was thus described by Monsignor Brady. "From the way it stands, cater-cornered across the world, it is an evidence of the wildness of the place at the time. There were no roads, no section lines, no mile posts or corner stones to indicate the direction or location. All was guesswork. The sun was their only guide, and judging from the way it stands their timepieces must have been an hour fast, and they set their posts at eleven o'clock, thinking it was noon with the shadows straight to the north. About eight years later, in 1867, Father Power succeeded in building the first little church." (*Ibid.*) This was located on the site of the present memorial chapel in the cemetery. In 1869 Father Power's own little residence was built, which was located near the present Sisters' house, just north of the Abbey. (Schmidt, *Memoirs,* p. 11.)

favor of the original name, stimulated perhaps by the fact that outsiders used such names as Bradyville, Irish Colony, or simply Colony, to designate the settlement.

Various events coinciding with, or falling near the feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, have been reported as suggesting the name.[34] The most probable explanation seems to be the following:[35] Father Power, with an Irishman's traditional devotion to the Mother of God, is supposed to have told Mr. Felix in 1856 to call the place Conception.[36] He also aided in securing the necessary popular ratification of this by the circumstance that the association of colonists in Reading on December 8, 1856, ratified the report, advocating purchase, of the first committee.[37]

"Often he, Father Power, was called away to neighboring missions, or to St. Joseph, Missouri, or still further to attend missions in Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Iowa and Illinois—for priests were then scarce in the Middle West—but always and again he returned to Conception, the apple of his eye."[38] Among the missions founded by Father Power about the same time he built the colony house, his headquarters, at Conception, we find mention of Maryville, Grandriver, and Island City.[39] William Ellerman of Clyde recalls trips that, as a boy, he made with Father Power to Savannah, in Andrew County, in order to serve his Mass there. George Bickett of Maryville asserts that Father Power would periodically ride past their home astride his sorrel pony on a circuit that included Des Moines and Council Bluffs.[40] Both these witnesses, however, refer to a somewhat later period.

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[34] The Immaculate Conception refers to the singular privilege of Christ's mother, who, from the first moment of her Conception, i. e. of her existence, was wholly free from every stain of original sin. All other members of the human race, except, of course, Christ Himself, inherit this sin from Adam. This teaching, always traditional in the Catholic Church, was not formally defined until 1854.

[35] Schmidt, *Die Benedictiner in Conception,* St. Louis, 1884, p. 27.

[36] This must have been Henry Felix of the second committee as Father Power came west in person as a member of the first committee. The first committee, it is true, also had authority to purchase suitable lands, but a name would hardly have antedated the specific location of the same.

[37] As stated in the Senate Committee Report already alluded to, this committee left Plattsburg November 26 or 27, 1856, visited the proposed location in Nodaway County, and then proceeded directly home. Jeff Thompson, their St. Joseph agent, reports receiving from the colonists papers and instructions which arrived in St. Joseph, he thinks, at the end of December, 1856.

[38] Rev. John Kunkel, O. S. B., of Conception Abbey, *Rev. James Power* (Manuscript, personal).

[39] Schmidt, *Memoirs,* p. 13.

The *Catholic Directory,* which refers to conditions as of the year preceding its own date, lists the activities of Father Power, some of which are as follows: In 1859 and in 1860 he is listed both at Reading, Pa., and at St. Joseph, Missouri, in the latter place together with Father Scanlan.[41] In 1863 he appears to be residing at Reading, Pa. In 1865, 1866, and 1867 he is listed at Council Bluffs. In 1868, in the general clergy catalogue, appears simply "J. Powers, Phil. [diocese]." This may merely signify that for that year he had no fixed abode. In 1869, with the first appearance of the name Conception in the *Directory,* with post office given as Guilford, and church called St. Columba, J. D. Powers is given as the pastor with Maryville as a mission. In 1870 and 1871 Power is listed at the Cathedral, St. Joseph, in 1872 and 1873 at Conception, in 1875 at the Cathedral, St. Joseph, but designated as absent.

Though Father Power is said to have visited his flock at least twice yearly during the critical period of the Civil War, yet local war prejudices probably made it impossible for him to reside securely among his people and to continue his missionary journeys without molestation.[42] As there was considerable southern sympathy throughout the whole state, some of which made itself felt in a mild way, as we have seen, at the very beginning of the Reading settlement, it is not likely that this free-state colony could escape altogether amid the demonstrations and counter demonstrations of border warfare.[43]

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[40] In fact Father Power was a whole year in Council Bluffs, as the following letter testifies:

"St. Francis Xavier Church
"Council Bluffs, Iowa
"June 16, 1930

"Rev. and Dear Father Cummins:

"In answer to your request re Jas. A. Power, the only information we can give is that he was here as pastor from June, 1864 to June, 1865. . . .

"Again the following from the Catholic Messenger: "The Rev. (Wm.?) Power who organized a Catholic Colony at Conception Monastery, Nodaway Co., Mo. . . . completed and improved the Church and was then called away on regular duty in the Diocese of St. Joseph, Mo." . . .

Sincerely in Xto.
J. O'Brien (Assist.)

The following reference may be to our Father Power: "Among the visiting priests [at Omaha] of '57-'58, whose names can be recalled, are Fathers Augustine and Tracy from Kansas, and Powers from Missouri." (Fitzmorris, Rev. T. J., "The Pioneer of Religion in Omaha," in *Records of the Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc.,* Vol. 3 (1891), p. 115.) However, another Fr. James Power died at Edina, Mo., August, 1858.

[41] The volumes for the Civil War period, save for a very sketchy one of 1863, were not at hand.

[42] Schmidt, *Die Benedictiner,* p. 28.

After the Civil War period Father Power reappeared and used part of the old colony house for the first school which was taught by Miss Josephine Protzman in 1866. In the following year he completed a new church, located on the present cemetery site, and dedicated it on December 8 to St. Columba. The old colony house was then devoted entirely to secular purposes.

The tide of immigration flowed in rapidly. Many of the post-war immigrants were German and during a two-year absence of Father Power racial friction developed.[44] This was accentuated by the lack of tact manifested by Father Tuerk, who was at Conception during Father Power's absence at St. Joseph.

IV

Second only to Conception in becoming a Catholic parish of Nodaway County was Maryville. In 1858 Father Power visited the Kentucky Catholics[45] whom we have already met, residing near the county seat.[46] In the same year, with the aid chiefly of Dr. Bickett, was begun the erection of a brick church, which was the first church building in Maryville. Yet only three women attended Father Power's first Mass in the new church.[47] This church, 30 by 25, and 18 feet high, was dedicated October 14, 1860, by Father John Hennessy of St. Joseph, who later became Archbishop of Dubuque. The relative splendor of this church made it a shining mark for the plunder and ravages that befell it during the Civil War. We are told that "The Kentucky Catholics mostly left during the Civil War."[48]

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[43] Among the early deaths recorded in the new colony was that of Jeremiah Sullivan, described as a Union soldier Home Guard. He was killed by the accidental discharge of a gun. His daughter, Helen, was the first child baptized, and was given forty acres of land by Father Power to commemorate the event. The first marriage was that of Lawrence Growney and Josephine Protzman, June, 1867. The bride was, before her marriage, the first school teacher in the colony.

[44] Father Power was in St. Joseph while Bishop Hogan attended the Vatican Council, 1870. Bishop Hogan was consecrated first Bishop of the newly erected diocese of St. Joseph, September 14, 1868. In his book, (*On the Mission in Missouri,* 1857-68, Kansas City, 1891) Bishop Hogan speaks facetiously of his serious intention to find a "Northwest passage for the church by a line of missions bordering on each other from St. Louis to Omaha." But his "main purpose" was to locate land and establish a Catholic colony. His "Southern Settlement" in Ripley Co., Missouri, was wiped out by the Civil War. Father Hogan was guided to his "main purpose" by noticing, in St. Louis, many hundreds of Catholic women immigrants employed in domestic service, and, in railway construction camps, other hundreds of Catholic young men, mostly Irish, who were unable to find employment in the cities, or on farms, either, in competition with slave labor. This, Father Hogan called an "anomalous condition, resulting in practically debarring them from inter-marriage," to remedy which he considered it his "duty to do whatever might be in his power." He would have preferred the more fertile lands of North Missouri, but cheap government lands there were mostly taken. Indeed, in 1857, the Commissioner of the General Land Office at Washington had complained that the assignments to speculators, at Plattsburg, were such as "almost to exhaust" the district.

[45] Besides Dr. Joseph Bickett at Maryville, there was Dr. James Bickett, the former's nephew, a much younger man, at Conception. Dr. Joseph's brother, Anthony, owned a blacksmith's shop at Wilcox.

[46] This account, save as otherwise noted, is based on the manuscript of Rev. Martin Kenel, O. S. B., in *The Golden Jubilee of St. Mary's Parish, Maryville, Missouri,* 1858-1908. (Copy preserved at St. Mary's, Maryville.)

Father Power, as has been seen, went to the Cathedral in St. Joseph in 1869. In his place there came to Maryville in that year Reverend Constantin Hergenroether, who made a frame addition to the rear of the church, the second story of which later served as an abode for the Swiss Benedictine Sisters, who took charge of the school in 1874. This first church is described as having been located "close to the fence, *south* of the present parsonage, in [along] the street."[49] This church, which faced west, is the church the *brick* portion of which was almost totally demolished in the storm of 1879.

Father Hergenroether was succeeded on July 10, 1870, by Reverend Joseph Seybold. George Bickett recalls that Father Seybold boarded at the house of Mrs. Young, a cousin of his father, whose house was located where the Physicians Building now is. An old member of St. Mary's says of Father Seybold that "he was very cross," while another agrees that "he was counted pretty high strung."

From July, 1871, to June 7, 1873, a Reverend P. Philipps was pastor of St. Mary's. He built the first priest's house and established the first Catholic school in Maryville.[50] The school building, however, was simply the frame addition to the church, the upper story of which was built for school purposes and the lower adapted to the same by means of drop-doors. These improvements, however, were counterbalanced by a debt that remained to vex Father Adelhelm, O. S. B., who succeeded to the pastorate September 18, 1873.

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[47] Schmidt, *Die Benedictiner,* p. 28.

[48] *History of Nodaway County, Missouri,* St. Joseph, 1882, p. 294.

[49] Such is the recollection of Nick Sturm, who with his parents and grandparents, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters, to the total of fourteen, moved to Maryville from Wisconsin in June, 1869. The last lap of the journey, from the "stub" at Savannah to Maryville was made in two big lumber wagons. The railroad was completed to Maryville later that same year. Mass at the time was "once or twice a month, Father Power celebrating."

[50] The housekeeper to Father Philipps and later to Father Adelhelm, O. S. B., was another aunt of George Bickett, Blanton by name. This fact provides us with an uninterrupted chain of tradition from "inside" sources of information. Perhaps to such sources may be attributed the following explanation of the reason for having the mission. "The idea of the mission," says Mr. Bickett, was to raise money to pay for that building [parish house] and also for digging a well." He further says that Father Annen, a jovial man "always ready with an answer," used to come out in front of the church and speak with the men. "What's your name?" he asked

In 1873, as it appears, occurred the first Mission in Nodaway County. This was conducted at St. Mary's by Father Jacobs, assisted by Father Annen.[51] At this mission George Bickett, then thirteen years old, was baptized.[52] Not having been baptized in infancy, as it seems, he had now to learn his catechism well before baptism. He recalls seeing many baptisms of children performed by Father Power before this time, but he himself had to wait and study.[53] Father Annen remained in Maryville until the arrival of the Benedictines, September 18, 1874. The arrival of the latter is an occasion well remembered by Mr. Bickett.

V

At Conception the German immigration at this period was rapidly outnumbering the Irish, and, with the natural desire of the new arrivals for a confessor of their own language, Father Power, upon his return from St. Joseph, felt his difficulties mounting. He had already attempted, in vain, to get Trappists from Ireland, Precious Blood Fathers from Ohio, Benedictines from Pennsylvania, to establish a community at his beloved Conception.[54] With hopes such as these he had been inspired from the beginning, and had spoken to his people, sometimes to their unbelieving amusement, of the days to come when they would have a monastery and a convent in their midst.

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one individual. "John Limpaugh," was the answer. "All right," returned Father Annen, "just limp up here and give me a dollar to dig a well." The result was that "John come up a huntin' for his dollar."

[51] It is not quite clear from the record what took place between the departure of Father Philipps, June 7, and the beginning of the mission. No one was in regular charge as pastor when the Benedictines arrived, September 18, 1874. Father Annen was there, having remained "for a while after the mission," according to George Bickett.

[52] George Bickett was born in 1860. This, however, may refer to a conditional baptism, or to a supplying of the ceremonies omitted in private baptism.

[53] This mission of 1873 is a precious memory traditional in the family of the writer. Grandfather Ryan, Irish born, had moved with his young family from Massachusetts some years prior to the Civil War, and plied the trade of blacksmith at Quitman, in western Nodaway Co. His attending this Mission was the first step in re-introducing the family to the heritage of the faith that was theirs.

[54] Schmidt, *Die Benedictiner,* p. 28.

Indeed, some favorable signs were not wanting, even at this time. Mere increase in numbers is in itself a good omen to the normal human being. The railroad from St. Joseph to Maryville had been opened late in 1869. Maryville had begun to have its own priest, relieving Father Power of that charge. It seems likely, therefore, despite the difficulties, and the many rejections of his pet project, that Father Power would have hesitated long before refusing to act upon the advice which he himself had given to his people on the occasion of the dedication of the new church in 1867, "to persevere to the end."[55] It does not appear that he was planning utterly to abandon the colony for we find him working as hard as ever when the Benedictines came in 1873 to bring to his people a religious community.[56]

The following facts gleaned from a descriptive bulletin printed at Maryville in 1869 may be taken with a grain of salt and yet they testify to encouraging results and seem to show that our Pennsylvanians were not only learning, but that others were learning from them as well:

> "New ideas are being initiated. Men of thought meet men of thought from other and distant localities, and the contact evokes new ideas. Modes of labor, old to the immigrant from Pennsylvania, are new to the immigrant from Kentucky. . . . The bitterness engendered by the war is fast disappearing from this country. . . . We have in the county eight grist mills and four carding mills, besides several saw mills . . . [at Maryville] a furniture factory, wagon factory and a brewery. . . . This Colony [at Conception] is under the direct charge of Reverend Mr. Powers, who seems to be laboring zealously and efficiently for the good of his charges. He has gathered around him a large number of poor Catholic families who, under the direction of the Reverend Father, have been induced to leave the contaminating influence of the large eastern cities and locate on the cheap lands of this colony. Each family is here able by their own labor to secure a home and all the comforts of life without difficulty. The colony lands are not yet all occupied, but are rapidly filling up. There are now about seventy-five [?]; four years later there were ninety-five Catholic families within the colony limits, each has a comfortable residence, and all seem industrious, contented, and indeed happy. They have a village laid out in which is one store and postoffice, one blacksmith shop, one boot and shoe shop, a notary public, carpenter and one hotel. The principal feature of this village is its church, which is a neat and substantial edifice, capable of seating two hundred persons comfortably. It was erected under the auspices of Father Powers, the means being raised partly by subscription but principally from Mr. Power's private purse. . . .
>
> There are three church edifices in Maryville, one belonging to the

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[55] Monsignor Brady, "Conception," p. 15.

[56] Schmidt, *Die Benedictiner,* p. 15.

> M. E. Church, North, one to the M. E. Church, South, and one to the Roman Catholics. . . . Each of these organizations holds services occasionally, and the two branches of Methodists and Catholics regularly.
>
> Farm labor fifteen to twenty-five dollars a month. Day labor one dollar and fifty cents . . . rent usually one-third grain . . . increase in population past two years one hundred per cent. Men who buy ten dollar lands this spring may confidently rely on an appreciation to fifteen or twenty dollars within the next two years."[57]

It does not, indeed, seem likely that the Conception colony would have had initial success without the backing of capital and legal talent from Reading, or that it would have survived without the leadership and determination of William Brady and the patience and forsightedness of Father Power. Having these it could not easily fail to survive the pioneer stage once the Civil War crisis had been safely weathered.

DAMIAN LEANDER CUMMINS, O. S. B., A. M.

Conception Abbey,
Conception, Mo.

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[57] Swan, *Counties of Northwest Missouri, Nodaway County, its Soil, Climate, and the Advantages it Offers to Immigration,* Maryville, 1869, p. 23. (Mo. Hist. Soc. Library.)

FATHER GABRIEL DE LA RIBOURDE, O. F. M.

THE FIRST MARTYR IN ILLINOIS

IV

Though many of the Illinois showed themselves docile and were willing enough to receive Baptism, the missionaries dared not administer this sacrament except to a few who manifested the proper knowledge and disposition. They baptized some dying children, two or three adults and two others who promised to follow them everywhere. One of the latter, however, as they found out afterwards, died in the hands of the pagan medicine men. During all these months the missioners could not celebrate holy Mass since they had no wine. But toward the close of August the wild grapes began to ripen; and from them they made some very good wine which they used for the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice.[43]

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[43] Membré's narrative in *Ill. Cath. Hist. Review,* Vol. X, pp. 380-82. The first missionary among the Illinois Indians was Father Marquette, S. J. In 1673, after they had explored the Mississippi as far as the mouth of its tributary, the Arkansas, Jolliet and Marquette returned on the Mississippi as far as the mouth of the Illinois, another of its tributaries. Entering this river, they came upon the Peoria camp, near present Peoria, and there spent three days, during which Father Marquette visited the Indians in their cabins and preached the Faith to them. When he was about to leave, he baptized a dying child—the first person to be baptized in Illinois, as far as we know with centainty.

Continuing their journey on the Illinois river, they stopped at the village of the Kaskaskia Indians, near Ottawa, and were well received by them. Father Marquette promised to return to them and instruct them in the Faith. One of their chiefs with his young men escorted Jolliet and Marquette to Lake Michigan by way of the Des Plaines and Chicago rivers, September, 1673. At the close of September the explorers were back at St. Francis Xavier Mission at Green Bay, whence they had set out in the beginning of June. They had traveled about 2,700 miles.

The following year, Father Marquette, wishing to keep his promise to the Kaskaskia Indians, set out for their village on the banks of the Illinois. But he did not reach them until April 8, 1675. He celebrated holy Mass in their village on April 11, Holy Thursday, and again on Easter Day. But his health did not allow him to stay. He returned by following the eastern shore of Lake Michigan; and there in the wilderness he died on May 18, 1675.

Father Claude Allouez, S. J., was chosen to succeed him. Arriving at Kaskaskia village on May 3, 1677, he erected a cross, thirty-five feet high and baptized thirty-five children besides one sick adult. He did not remain, but visited them from time to time, laboring also among the Miami on the banks of the St. Joseph river in Michigan, and the Potawatami near the southern end of Lake Michigan in Wisconsin. During all his wanderings in these parts, however, La Salle did not meet Father Allouez a single time. The latter died at the village of the Miami in 1689.

Tonti and the three Frenchmen also dwelt among the Illinois during these months. And although he had been despoiled of everything, Tonti never lost courage. He managed to keep up his position among the Illinois by assuring them that La Salle would return and by instructing them in the use of firearms and other European arts. He even built for them a little fort with intrenchments.[44]

Then, of a sudden, came the Iroquois to make war upon the Illinois. In early September, when the Illinois Indians were assembled in their Great Village, some of their number who had gone out to reconnoitre came back with the unexpected news that the Iroquois had come from the east and were even now encamped on the banks of the Vermilion river, within two leagues of the Great Village.[45]

"The two Recollect Fathers were then living a league away from the village, in a cabin of which they made a kind of hermitage, and were warned of the coming of the Iroquois only after the battle was on. The savage with whom they were lodged carried off the case containing the sacred vessels, in order to preserve them. But during the flight of the Illinois, they were scattered. A part, however, has since been recovered from their hands." [46]

When the Iroquois appeared, the Illinois grew very suspicious of Tonti and blamed him for the arrival of their enemies. But when the two nations came to a clash, Tonti, heedless of danger, went over to the enemy's lines in the midst of the fray, bravely trying to establish peace between the two warring nations. One of the Iroquois plunged a knife into his breast, wounding a rib near his heart. Other influential Iroquois, however, prevented their comrades from killing him. They listened to his remonstrances, and sent him with peace proposals back to the Illinois, who had retired to their village at Tonti's bidding. On the way back he met Fathers Ribourde and Membré who had come to look

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Speaking of Fathers Ribourde and Membré, Shea writes: "They are, accordingly, after the Jesuits, Marquette and Allouez, the first missionaries of Illinois, and worthy of a distinguished place in her annals." (*Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley,* p. 152).

[44] *Ill. Cath. Hist. Review,* Vol. X, pp. 381-82.

[45] Anderson, *Relation of the Discoveries and Voyages of Cavalier de La Salle,* p. 199 f.

[46] *Ibid.*

for him, and they expressed their great joy at finding him still alive.

But the Iroquois who had not been sincere, followed close upon Tonti's heels. Father Membré went to them and asked them not to proceed any farther. They replied that they had come for food. But the Illinois knew better and retreated, after setting fire to some of their own huts. From the rest, the Iroquois took what they needed to build a small fortification, and then burned them too. Tonti, the three Frenchmen and the two missionaries remained in their little cabin, which the Iroquois left untouched. Shortly after, the Iroquois invited the white men to come into their fort.

For over a week Tonti and Father Membré did all in their power to make peace between the two nations. But all in vain; the Iroquois could not be trusted. They had determined to inflict a crushing defeat on the Illinois; and finally they offered gifts to Tonti and Membré in order to get their consent. But when Tonti fearlessly kicked away their presents, the chiefs drove him and the missionary from their council. The little party of white men retired to their cabin and passed the night on their guard, thinking that they would not live till morning. But at daybreak, the Iroquois directed them to depart.

They got into a little canoe, which was in a wretched condition, and "the Rev. Father Gabriel, Recollect, seeing the canoe loaded with beaver skins, threw several to the Iroquois, giving them to understand that he was not there to amass furs." [47]

It was on the morning of September 18, 1680, that the little party of white men left the ruins of the Great Village, and began to ascend the Illinois river in a leaky canoe with no provisions and very little ammunition. All day long they paddled up the river. But they made very slow progress, since none of the party was a good canoeman. During the night they camped in a sheltered spot on the bank of the river.

Continuing their journey on the next day, September 19, they were forced to land about noon. Their canoe had struck a rock and was leaking; the skins they had taken along and their clothing had become wet. They had traveled but eight leagues or about twenty miles. As far as we can ascertain, therefore, they landed on the north bank of the river, where Seneca, Illinois, is now situated, halfway between Ottawa and Morris.[48] The river was wider here than elsewhere; and on the bank where they landed there were meadows and hills and little groves. While the rest were busy repairing the canoe, Father Ribourde strolled into the woods to say his breviary. There a band of Kickapoo Indians surprised him and wantonly murdered him.

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[47] *A Description of Louisiana,* p. 268.

We find accounts of Father Ribourde's death in Father Membré's narrative, in Father Hennepin's *Description of Louisiana* as well as his *A New Discovery,* in Tonti's relation and in La Salle's "offiicial narrative." That of Membré, quoted at the beginning of this paper, is undoubtedly the best; but it will be both interesting and enlightening to compare the others.

La Salle's "official narrative" has this account:

> "Having many beaver skins, he (Tonty) abandoned a portion and carried along the rest. . . . Having no canoemen, he ascended the Illinois river with great difficulty. On the third day[49] after the departure, Father Gabriel landed in order to be able to pray with more tranquillity and to solace himself by walking along the river. But he was seen by some Kickapoo savages who, themselves unperceived, killed him with their arrows. M. de Tonty stopped at noon to await him, and seeing that he was belated, turned back to look for him. He awaited the Father the next day also, but all efforts being useless, Tonty was compelled to continue on his way, with sorrow for the loss of a man respected by all who knew him. A short time afterward, he reached the place where the Teatiki river . . . receives the waters of the Divine river."[50]

In Tonti's relation, as given by Anderson, we find the following account:

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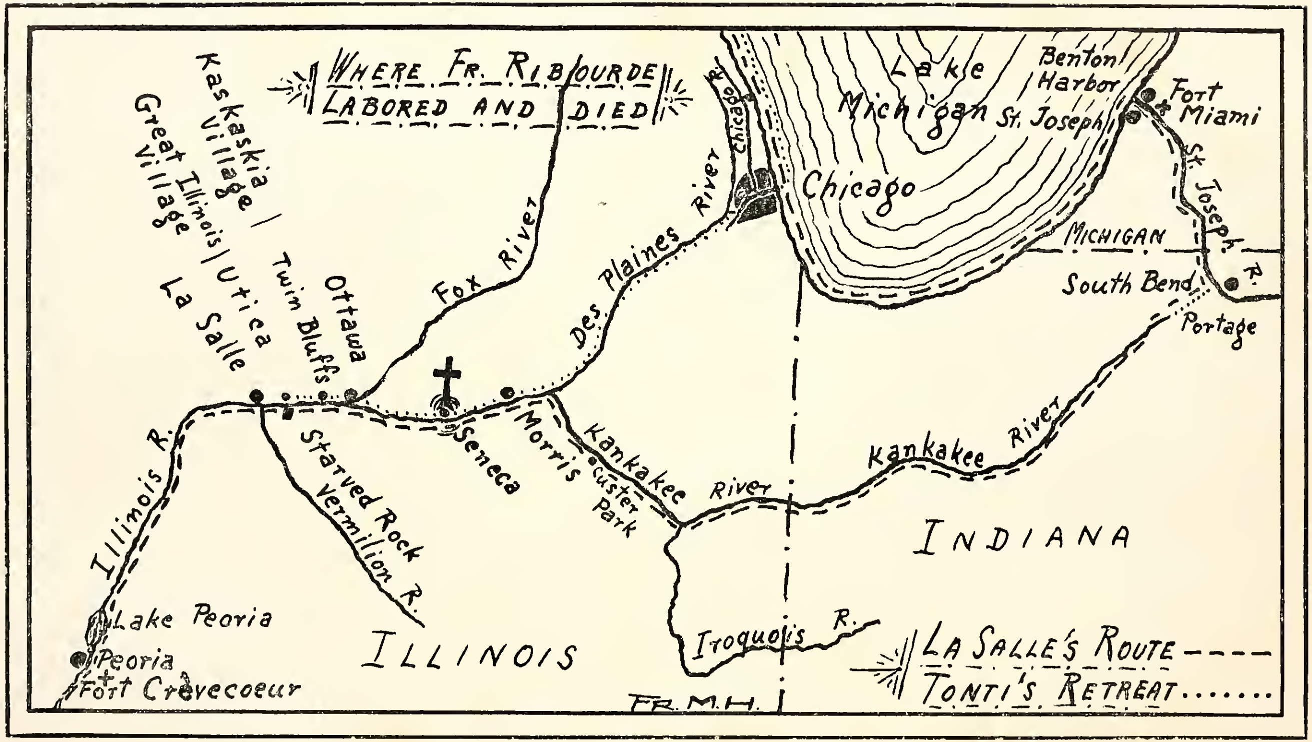
[48] The Kickapoos, as Hennepin wrote, lived "to the westward of the Bay of Puans" or Green Bay, in southern Wisconsin. Thwaites says they were an Algonquin tribe, "closely allied to the Mascoutens whom they finally absorbed." Coming down from the north, the Kickapoos would naturally meet Father Ribourde on the north bank of the river; for, at this place the Illinois flows from east to west.

[49] Father Membré says "the next day"; and his version of the story has every mark of being correct in all its details. As a fellow traveler of Father Ribourde, he was well able to write as he did; while La Salle's "official narrative," like Tonti's apochryphal account, was most probably not written by the explorer himself. Especially in regard to dates, the later two are not very reliable; some times they are confusing.

[50] That is, where the Kankakee and the Des Plaines rivers join, forming the Illinois. Anderson, *Relation of the Voyages and Discoveries of Cavalier de la Salle,* p. 209.


WHERE FR. RIBOURDE LABORED AND DIED
Lake Michigan
Benton Harbor
St. Joseph
Fort Miami
St. Joseph R.
Chicago
Chicago R.
MICHIGAN
South Bend
Portage
Kaskaskia Village
Great Illinois Village
Utica
La Salle
Twin Bluffs
Ottawa
Fox River
Des Plaines River
Seneca
Morris
Custer Park
Kankakee River
Kankakee River
Starved Rock
Vermilion R.
Illinois R.
Lake Peoria
Peoria
Fort Crèvecoeur
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
Iroquois R.
LA SALLE'S ROUTE
TONTI'S RETREAT
FR. M. H.

"On the 21st, as our canoe was leaking badly, we stopped to dry our clothing and some skins.[51] The Reverend Father Gabriel having gone some distance from camp to say his prayers, we were surprised when at six o'clock he did not return. I went to seek him and followed his trail for a half league, when finding it confused with the footprints of many others, I returned to camp. Not doubting that he had been taken or killed, I thought it safest to leave our effects and to cross to the other side of the river. We kept a good watch during the night and saw a number of persons in our camp, who lighted a fire. In the morning we went back and remained there until noon. As no one came, we departed, intending to travel by short stages; for we supposed the Father might have gone astray, and that we might find him somewhere along the river. The next day, toward evening, hearing the report of a gun in the woods near us, we made no doubt of being pursued, and so kept a sharp lookout."

Tonti's relation, as given by Cox, contains some additional data:

"After making five leagues in the canoe, we landed to dry some peltries which were wet.[52] While we were repairing our canoe, Father Gabriel told me he was going aside to pray. I advised him not to get away, because we were surrounded by enemies. He went about 1,000 paces off and was taken by forty savages of the nation called Kickapous, who carried him away and broke his head. Finding that he did not return, I went to look for him with one of my men. Having discovered his trail, I found it cut by several others, which joined and ended at last in one. I brought back this sad news to the Father Zenobe, who was greatly grieved at it. Towards evening we made a great fire, hoping that perhaps he might return; and we went over to the other side of the river, where we kept a good lookout. Towards midnight we saw a man appear, and then many others."

In *A New Discovery,* Hennepin devotes an entire chapter (Chap. LXXVII) to the story of Father Ribourde's death. It is practically Father Membré's account, marred, however, by insertions in which Hennepin bitterly blames Tonti for giving up the search for Father Ribourde. These vituperations are no doubt the expression of an aversion which Hennepin conceived for Tonti at the very beginning of La Salle's expedition.[53] However, there are some passages in this account which deserve to be quoted. Hennepin writes:

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[51] Anderson, *Relation of Henri de Tonty,* p. 45. According to Father Membré, they landed on September 19; and for the reasons given above (note 49), we hold that the 19th is the correct date. Shea (*Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley,* p. 163) gives September 9 as the day of Father Ribourde's death; so does Holweck in his *American Martyrology* (*Catholic Historical Review,* Vol. VI, p. 510). But Shea evidently meant to say the 19th and not the 9th, for in those pages he gives Father Membré's narrative.

[52] Cox, *Journeys of La Salle* (*Illinois Cath. Hist. Review,* Vol. X, p. 385). Parkman (*La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West,* Edition de Luxe, Vol. I, p. 233) also says they paddled about five leagues. But Father Membré is evidently more exact, telling us it was the next day at noon that they landed to repair their canoe, being full eight leagues up the river from the Great Village.

> "If ever I had reason to be thankful to those that have taken care of my instruction, certainly I must confess, it was to this good Father Gabriel, who was my master during my novitiate . . . ; therefore, I think that I am bound in duty to mention so honest a man in this relation of my discovery, especially having had so sad a share therein, as to be murdered by the savages Kikapoux. . . . He was generally loved by all that knew him. . . . This worthy man was wont in the lessons he made us in our novitiate, to prepare us against the like accidents by mortifications. And it seems he had some foresight of what befell him. . . . Father Gabriel was about sixty-five years old. He had not only lived an exemplary life, such as our Fathers do, but had also performed all the duties of the employments he had in that order. . . . I understood several times by his discourses, that he was much obliged to the Flemings, who had maintained him a long time. He often talked to us about it, to inspire us, by his example, with some sentiments of gratitude towards our benefactors. I have seen him moved with grief, considering that so many nations lived in the ignorance of the way to salvation; and he was willing to lose his life, to deliver them out of their stupidity. The Iroquois said of him, that he had been brought to bed, because his great belly was become flat by his frequent fastings, and the austerity of his life. . . . I do not doubt but the death of that venerable old man was very precious in the sight of God, and I hope it will produce one time or other its effects, when it shall please God to set forth his mercy towards these wild nations."[54]

It is indeed a beautiful tribute that Father Hennepin here pays to his novice-master and superior. Coming as it does from Father Hennepin who was very sparing in his praise of others, it shows how unquestionable was the personal sanctity and amiability of Father Ribourde.

Also in his first book, *Description of Louisiana,* does Fr. Hennepin wrongly blame Tonti for Father Ribourde's death. From that account we learn that it had been thought at first that the Iroquois killed Father Ribourde; but it also advises us that the Illinois later found Father Ribourde's body and buried it:

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[53] Hennepin declares that already at Niagara Falls in 1678 Tonti disliked him because he was a subject of Spain (Spanish Netherlands) and was jealous of him because he kept a journal. Cf. Thwaites, *A New Discovery,* pp. xxii and xxiii.

[54] *A New Discovery,* p. 343 f. It does seem that Father Ribourde's death helped to bring about the conversion of the Illinois Indians; for, only some three decades later, Father Marest has nothing but words of praise for them. (Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley,* p. 25, note).

> "We have subsequently learned by investigations made by order of the Count de Frontenac, Governor of Canada, that the Onnontaguez Iroquois seeing the French canoe abandon this old man, hid in the grass, fearing the guns which the French might have discharged at them; and as the canoe moved away, they advanced stealthily and tomahawked that man of God, whom we can style the Apostle of Louisiana.[55]
>
> "Our Recollect Fathers informed me last year from New France, that the Illinois after their defeat, pursued in great haste after the Iroquois who were all returning home triumphant and that they found the body of Father Gabriel with his habit, that they carried him to their village and buried him in their manner, doing honor to him who had gone among them to preach the Faith to them, and for their consolation. Others have wished to assure us that the Kikapous had killed him and carried off his habit of Saint Francis to the village of the Miamis; but the Count de Frontenac will give us all authentic information on his return."[56]

This was the first account of Father Ribourde's death and hence it is somewhat confused. It was the Kickapoo and not the Iroquois who murdered Father Ribourde; and it was not the

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[55] Father Ribourde was the first martyr, not only of Illinois, but of the entire Mississippi valley, known as Louisiana—if we except Father René Menard, S. J., who was lost in 1661 and is thought to have been killed by the Sioux in Wisconsin.

[56] *A Description of Louisiana,* p. 268. Perhaps it was, not while pursuing the victorious Iroquois, but while retreating from their ferocious onslaught, that the Illinois chanced upon the body of their former missionary, Father Ribourde. At any rate, by carrying his body to their village, Hennepin probably means that they took it along on their way to the Miamis on the St. Joseph river, where the Illinois survivors settled after the destruction of the Great Village. It may be that they carried Father Ribourde's remains for some distance and then buried them on the banks of the Kankakee, along which lay their route to the Miamis.

All this is plausible enough and it fits in with another conjecture. In the latter part of June, 1930, two skulls and some other relics, including a crucifix and three crosses, were found at a bend in the Kankakee river, near Custer Park, Illinois. The largest of the crosses had the word "Montreal" stamped on it. Father G. J. Garraghan, S. J., who examined these finds declared: "Unquestionably these articles are of French origin, and I am sure they date back to the seventeen hundreds." In view of what has been mentioned above, it is not improbable that relics of Father Ribourde are among those which have been found at Custer Park. But we cannot say with certainty. The relics may just as well be those of French trappers or traders or explorers.

However, a recognized ethnologist, who has studied the silver ware of the eastern and middle western Indian tribes for the past three or four years, in a letter to the editor of MID-AMERICA expresses the opinion that the skulls found are those of Shawnee or more likely Potawatomi Indians, buried between 1755 and 1812, and that the silver articles, including the crosses, were common trade objects, the crosses having no special religious significance at that particular time. But can the same be said of the crucifix which was found with these articles?

Kickapoo but the Illinois, after their defeat by the Iroquois, who went to the village of the Miami.

From the various accounts it is plain that the manner in which Father Ribourde was killed is not so certain. La Salle's narrative declares that Kickapoo savages, "themselves unperceived, killed him with their arrows." Tonti (as cited by Cox) says "they carried him away and broke his head." Hennepin, in his first book, writes that he was tomahawked (by the Iroquois); but in his later writings he makes the following statement: "Three Kikapoux, making the vanguard, met with Father Gabriel, who came up to him as near as they could, hiding themselves among the grass, which is very high in that country; and though they knew he was not an Iroquois, yet they knocked him down with their clubs, called head-breakers, which are made of a very hard wood."[57] The latter seems to be the correct account. After beating the aged priest with their war-clubs, they scalped him; and taking his breviary, they cast his body, clothed as it was in the grey Franciscan habit, into a hole. There the Illinois found it shortly after, and reverently laid it to rest according to their tribal customs.

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The grief of Father Membré and his companions at the loss of Father Ribourde was equalled only by the hardships they endured during the rest of their journey,—hardships so great that Father Membré declared his lost superior would never have been able to bear up under them. They still had to travel some eighty leagues to reach the friendly Potawatamis on the western shore of Lake Michigan. A short time after they lost Father Ribourde, they came to the confluence of the Kankakee and the Des Plaines. Ascending the Des Plaines, they portaged to the Chicago river, passed through what is now the heart of the city of Chicago, and then skirted the western shore of Lake Michigan.

Their only food was potatoes, garlic and other roots which they scratched out of the ground with their own fingers. Tonti contracted a tertian fever; and Renault, the best canoeman in the party, wanted to proceed on foot. Tonti gave him permission to go; but Father Membré prevailed on him not to forsake his ailing master. Their canoe began to leak on all sides; and, finally, they had to leave it in the woods. Not wishing to abandon it, they left Boisrondet, with a supply of food for ten days, to guard it; and the rest continued their journey overland, walking barefoot over snow and ice. They had no compass and frequently got lost; sometimes they found themselves in the evening at the very spot where they had started out in the morning.

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[57] *A New Discovery,* p. 343 f.

In an abandoned Indian village on the shore of the lake they found a supply of pumpkins, and encamped on a nearby hill. Meantime Boisrondet had followed the rest of the party. He too came upon the pumpkins and helped himself liberally to them, thinking that his companions had gone ahead and left them for him; the fact was they had eaten sparingly of the pumpkins, to make the supply last longer. They knew not how far they still had to travel for shelter and aid. In the village Boisrondet found an old canoe and repaired it. Then his companions found him; and together they continued their journey by water.

After paddling for three leagues they reached the vicinity of Green Bay and landed to look for an Indian village. The weather was cold; and for five days a fine snow fell. Father Membré and the rest made shoes for themselves of Father Ribourde's mantle. The next day, December 4, they met some Indians, who conducted them to their village. At last the weary travelers had found a haven of refuge. They were welcomed by the Jesuit Fathers who had a mission among the Indians in these parts (St. Francis Xavier Mission), and remained with them as their guests during the winter and spring. After two and a half months of starvation and arduous travel they were sorely in need of a rest.[58]

Meantime La Salle had returned to the Illinois country and sought in vain for Tonti and his faithful companions. Finding Fort Crèvecoeur abandoned and the Great Village in ruins, he returned north to the St. Joseph river, whither the Illinois Indians of the Great Village had retreated; and there he spent the winter. In spring he went to Makinac; and here he was reunited with his loyal friends, Tonti and Father Membré, when they arrived from Green Bay on June 5, 1681.

With characteristic courage and optimism, they at once laid plans for a new expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi. They returned to Fort Frontenac and probably to Montreal, and then set out with a more numerous party than they had on the first expedition. This time they were successful, reaching the Gulf of Mexico on April 9, 1682.

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[58] Membré's narrative in *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley,* pp. 163-64; Anderson, *Relation of Henri de Tonty,* p. 45 f.

Briefly to mention the adventures of Father Hennepin, the other missionary accompanying La Salle's first expedition, after leaving Fort Crèvecoeur and sailing down the Illinois, he reached the Mississippi on March 8. On March 12 he continued his journey, sailing north and exploring the upper reaches of the great river. He was the first white man to sail on the northern course of the Mississippi, going as far as the Falls of St. Anthony.[59] Taken a prisoner by the Sioux on April 11, he endured great hardships and passed through many dangers. Rescued by Duluth in July, 1681, he returned to Montreal and thence to Europe, never to return to New France.

Regarding Father Membré we wish merely to add that, like Father Ribourde, he too perished at the hands of savage Indians. He accompanied La Salle on his voyage from France to the Gulf of Mexico in 1684-1685, a voyage that had a very sad ending. They missed the mouth of the Mississippi and were stranded at Matagorda Bay, Texas. A fort was erected and a little colony established; but they had not come to remain here, cut off as they were from the rest of the world. Leaving twenty-three persons, among them Fathers Membré, and Maximus Le Clercq, also a Franciscan and Chefdeville, a Sulpician, at the settlement, La Salle with twenty-eight men started out in 1687 to make an overland journey to Illinois. On the banks of Trinity river or near it, he was murdered by two of his own men. Savage Indians attacked the settlement he had left in Texas and killed most of the colonists, including the missionaries, and made the others prisoners. The chalices and breviaries of the missioners were later found among the Karankawa Indians.

Father Ribourde was not only the first martyr in Illinois.[60]

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[59] The present year, therefore, is also the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Father Hennepin's voyage of exploration on the northern reaches of the Mississippi; Minnesota is commemorating the event by erecting a monument to Father Hennepin at Minneapolis. Cf. *Franciscan Herald,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 346 and 376.

[60] Besides Father Ribourde there have been only two other martyrs of the Faith in Illinois: Father Jacques Gravier, S. J., who died in 1708 of a wound which he received from the Illinois Indians in 1705; and the seminarist Gaston, of the Seminary of Foreign Missions, who was killed by the Illinois Indians in 1730 at the Tamarois (Cahokia) mission, shortly after he arrived there. Father Gravier had built a chapel within Fort St. Louis on top of Starved Rock, and had done missionary work also in the vicinity of Peoria.

He was also, as we have seen, the first superior of the reestablished Franciscan mission in New France, first missionary of Fort Frontenac, superior of the little band of missioners accompanying La Salle's first expedition, chaplain of Fort Crèvecoeur —first white settlement in Illinois, pioneer missionary among the Illinois Indians. Any single one of these titles and positions are sufficient to assure him a place of prominence in the early annals of our country—how much more all of them together?

Above all, however, Father Ribourde was a man of such extraordinary virtue and stainless character that his contemporaries all unite in his praise. "That good man Father Gabriel," "this amiable missionary of Saint Francis," (Hennepin)—"this man of God," "this holy man," (Membré)—"a personage of great merit and exemplary virtue," "a man respected by all who knew him," (La Salle's narrative)—such are some of the encomiums bestowed on him by contemporary writers.

Surely Father Ribourde is deserving of every honor we can give him. It is, indeed, a matter of no little surprise, that at this late date, two hundred and fifty years after his death, his memory should not have been cherished and his name should have remained practically unknown. It is the fond hope of the writer that a worthy memorial will soon be erected in honor of Father Ribourde at Seneca, Illinois, where he gave his life in God's service, the first martyr of the Faith on Illinois soil,— and perhaps one also at Peoria, near which city once stood Fort Crèvecoeur, the first white settlement in Illinois. Our hopes are increased by the fact, that the little town of Seneca, with a Catholic church of its own, lies just within the confines of the diocese of Peoria, whose new bishop, the Right Rev. J. H. Schlarman, has manifested his interest in the early history of Illinois and won distinction by writing *The Story of the French in America.*[61] Illinois has been tardy in honoring the memory of Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, O. F. M.; but I trust, that once we have been made aware of our unconscious neglect, we will make speedy reparation.

MARION A. HABIG, O. F. M.

Chicago, Illinois.

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[61] *From Quebec to New Orleans,* which has been one of our secondary sources for the preparation of this paper. Among other secondary sources consulted, have been: *Catholic Explorers and Pioneers of Illinois* by Rev. J. B. Culemans in *Catholic Historical Review,* Vol. IV, 141 f.; *An American Martyrology* by Rev. F. G. Holweck, *ibid.,* Vol. VI, 495 f.; *Along the Historic Illinois* by Joseph J. Thompson, LL. D., in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* Vol. V, Nos. 1 and 2; *Illinois—The Cradle of Christianity and Civilization in Mid-America* by the same author, *ibid.,* Vol. IX, Nos. 3 and 4, Vol. X, Nos. 1, 2, and 4.

DOCUMENTS

AN EARLY MISSOURI RIVER JOURNAL

Associated with Father De Smet in the Catholic missionary movement of the forties among the Indian tribes of the Rocky Mountain region was the Jesuit, Nicolas Point, a native of Rocroy in the Ardennes, France (1799-1868). His career presents interesting points of study, especially in view of the circumstance that he left behind him a good-sized body of unpublished manuscript material in the form of journals, memoirs and correspondence. Moreover, he possessed some skill in pen-and-ink delineation, the illustrations with which he embellished his literary work ranging from sketches of Rocky Mountain flora, fauna, and Indian celebrities to portraits of American Fur Company officers and traders and drawings of upper Missouri trading-posts. Point's papers are to be found scattered in places as widely apart as St. Louis, Missouri, and Rome. In the archives of St. Louis University is a volume of original drawings from his pen illustrative of various phases of Rocky Mountain life. In the National Library of the Italian capital is a fragment of a journal which he kept during his missionary travels among the Blackfeet Indians, while in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal, are preserved his three volumes of manuscript memoirs.

From the fall of 1846 to the spring of the following year Father Point was engaged in missionary work among the various groups of Blackfeet Indians on the east slope of the Rockies, with headquarters at Fort Lewis on the upper Missouri. His ministry during this period was a strenuous one, the baptisms and marriages he performed among the Indians of the plains, all entered with meticulous accuracy in an extant register, being the earliest recorded church ministrations in eastern Montana. On May 19, 1847, he set out from Fort Lewis by way of the Missouri river from Canada, to which mission-field he had been transferred by his superiors. Particulars of this trip as far as Fort Union, at the mouth of the Yellowstone, are recorded by him in a manuscript journal of twenty-five pages written in an amazingly microscopic hand and bearing the caption, *"Voyage en berge sur le Missouri depuis le fort des pieds-noirs jusqu' a celui des assiniboines,"* ("A journey in a barge from the fort of the Blackfeet to that of the Assiniboines").

The journal embodies also numerous data about the first five posts installed by the American Fur Company on the upper Missouri and known as Forts Piegan, Mackenzie, J. F. C., Lewis and Clay. All of these preceded the Fort Benton of a later day and may be regarded as rudimentary stages in the evolution of that historic post. Point's informant on the history of these pioneer trading-posts was the Canadian trader, Jean Bergier, who was one of the party with which he made the descent of the Missouri to Fort Union and who had been commissioned by McKenzie to open up trade with the Blackfeet. This he did in 1831 in an heroic mid-winter adventure into the territory of the Blackfeet, a vivid account of which Point enters in his journal under date of May 22.[1]

At Fort Union, which was reached on June 1, 1847, Point caught the steamer Martha for St. Louis, where he arrived in August, proceeding thence to Sandwich in Ontario, Canada. He later made repeated appeals to his superiors to be allowed to return to the mission-field of the American West, a step which was not permitted him, in view of the weak condition of his health. He died in Quebec in his seventieth year, July 4, 1868. In the romantic attempt made by De Smet and his Jesuit associates of St. Louis in the forties to evangelize the Rocky Mountain tribes he had a distinguished share, while by the contacts he made with the personnel of the pioneer trading-posts of the upper Missouri and by the portrayals, literary and pictorial, of the forts and their entourage which he left behind him, he becomes a figure of interest in the frontier period of Montana history.[2]

G. J. G.

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[1] There are accounts of the Bergier episode in H. M. Chittenden's *American Fur Trade of the Far West,* I, 331; also in Coues (ed.) *Charles Larpenteur, Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri,* I, 109-115. The value of Point's version is that it was got directly from Bergier himself.

[2] For a fuller account of Father Point see Garraghan, *"Nicolas Point, Jesuit Missionary in Montana of the Forties,"* in Willard and Goodykoontz (ed.). *The Trans-Mississippi West; Papers read at a Conference held at the University of Colorado, June 18-21, 1929.* Boulder, University of Colorado, 1930.

A JOURNEY IN A BARGE ON THE MISSOURI FROM THE FORT OF THE BLACKFEET [LEWIS] TO THAT OF THE ASSINIBOINES [UNION]*

Particulars Edifying or Curious

Fort Lewis [Lewis], which is our starting point, was built by a Bourgeois of the American [Fur] Company, Mr. Colberson [Culbertson], who later built Fort Clay. Fort Lewis was situated on the left shore of the Missouri, almost at the center of the Blackfoot country. Up to that point a steamer might have ascended the river when the water was at its highest, that is to say, from May to July, but above that point navigation becomes impossible on account of the five falls which follow one another in a stretch of eight miles. In winter it is almost everywhere impossible to navigate on account of the ice, which in this season forms a thickness of two or three feet. In the dry season, which lasts from August until fall, barges can ascend, but it is possible to do so only by making use of all available motive power; seldom is the stern-wind strong enough to allow the crew to rest. During certain seasons the barges strand as often as ten or twelve times a day. On these occasions the crew must take to the water and by use of tow-line and shoulder force the barge upstream. This operation renders navigation in those parts so difficult that the fort of the Blackfeet, which needs more helping hands than the other forts, is still obliged to pay more dearly for help. An ordinary laborer (engagé) costs the fort annually from 150 to 230 dollars, not counting lodging, heating and food, which is of the kind usual in the country. Carpenters, blacksmiths, hunters, and all men of a trade, whose services are indispensable, are better fed and paid. Clerks, the chief interpreter, and the traders, in addition to receiving the best salaries, are admitted to the Master's table. Moreover, the fort out of good will burdens itself with caring for the sick, invalids, women, visitors—in a word, for all non-supporting mouths, which generally number more than sixty, without counting chiefs, partisans, head men, and sometimes whole war parties, to whom, in addition, it [the fort] distributes gratis almost all the gunpowder they need. I do not include the gifts one is obliged to give to the chief traders if one does not want to see them take their merchandise elsewhere. All this explains the high price of the things which are sold either to the employees of the fort or to the Indians who come there to trade. In general, the rule of Fort Louis, and it is the same, I think, at the other forts of the same company, seemed to me very mild. Excepting the great effort that must be made to bring the victualing barge up the river, work at the fort, which ordinarily takes place only between the two principal meals, is very moderate. If some men spend all their wages associating with squaws in spite of their duty and interest, they do so of their own free will; nobody compels them. There is only one circumstance relative to public morals, which, I think, should be called to the attention of the proper party; it concerns the method of lodging the families. If every legitimately married laborer had, and I have reason to hope that this will be done, his own little private room, or if he had the liberty of admitting only such companions as he should find congenial, I am persuaded that morals would profit by it.

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* Translation from the French by Paul A. Barrette, Department of Modern Languages, St. Louis University. One or two paragraphs of slight interest have been omitted.

I left Fort Lewis on May 19, 1847, which was the day of its funeral or rather of its transference, for all the transportable materials which had served in its construction were brought down on rafts (cajeux)[1] about three miles to a point on the opposite bank, a location preferable to the other one under the three-fold respect of beauty, fertility and convenience for trade. However, on leaving the land in which my heart had struck root so deeply, I could not help sighing while I repeated what a Persian traveler once said in the catacombs of Rome: "So here, as elsewhere, everything changes and all things pass away very quickly." It is true, yes, for the things of this world, but what will not pass away, so I hope, are the riches amassed for heaven during the winter. The denizens of this fort will recall with gratitude Christmas Night, Easter Day, the adult baptisms, the great number of persons brought back to their religious duties, while the Cross which soars aloft in the neighborhood of this cradle of religion will teach travelers coming after us that this land, however desolate it may appear, has been verily a land of benediction not only for the seven hundred souls there brought forth, but even more so, for those who have listened here to the voice of the Lord. I shall tell elsewhere of how each and every one helped to second the designs of Divine Mercy in regard to the Indians, but what my heart's imperious promptings do not permit me to defer are the thanks which I owe them for the personal regard of which I have been the object during the six months I lived in their midst. In the case of several the attentions have been so delicate that I have been able to attribute them only to a profound respect for the work of which I am the minister.

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[1] The meaning of the word "cajeux" was thus explained to the translator by the Abbé Lionel Groulx, professor and noted writer, University of Montreal: La "cage" était autrefois le train de bois flottant. A l'époque où les chemins de fer et les lignes de communication étaient peu développés, l'on avait recours à ce procédé pour le transport du bois. Les *cageux* faisaient avec de longues pièces, un cadre vigoureux, jetaient à l'intérieur le bois rond, attachaient le tout ensemble, se construisaient un petit abri, élevaient une tente au milieu ou à l'arrière et se laissaient emporter par le fil de l'eau. De longues rames, ou de longues gaffes leur permettaient de diriger la cage jusqu'à destination.

On May 20 the barges stopped at the new fort, called Fort Clay, to help the men erect the bastions (walls). A trading fort in the Indian country is an assemblage of magazines and houses more solid than elegant, the whole being surrounded by a palisade from fifteen to twenty feet high, which forms a square more or less extended according to the importance of the fort. At the end of one of its diagonals this enclosure is flanked by two square towers of several stories projecting at each end of the angle the distance of about one-half their heights. It is from here, by means of port-holes cleverly arranged, that we can take from ill-designing Indians all hope of their doing any harm. A fort of this sort would for the moment be capable of self-defense even against thousands of Indians; but there is no way of putting up a prolonged resistance to forces in such numbers, to which, moreover, you must have recourse daily if you do not wish to die of hunger or ruin your fortune. Hence the necessity of having to make a defense by force is regarded by traders, who best understand the interest of their Company, as such a great evil that there is nothing which they will not do to avoid it. They are convinced, as they have been taught by experience, that gratitude is a bond a thousand times stronger than fear to constrain the Indian in his duty. This fear, such as they experience it, will prevent them, of course, from attacking you openly as long as you are the stronger; but let the opportunity present itself to strike a few blows not endangering themselves, they will assuredly not miss it. The Indian indeed considers revenge a virtue. The Blackfeet, it has been said, have often massacred white people without cause, a fact unfortunately too true; but I doubt that they would have done so without any reason whatever. If one wishes to take the pains of looking into things, as I have had occasion to do, one will see almost always that if they had nothing in the least to complain of in regard to their white victims, they did bear a grievance against some one whom they thought connected with the victims. Yet these instances of cruelty are less frequent than is commonly reported. On the contrary, we may quote hundreds of examples of protection granted by the most wicked Blackfeet to whites who had been shrewd enough to give them opportunely some or other token of esteem, affection, compassion or generosity. Moreover, a fact very honorable to the American Fur Company and one which bears out the above expressed opinion is that the bourgeois [Alexander Culbertson] of the fort of the Blackfeet who has steadily followed this rule, has never seen a Blackfoot try to injure him personally. Still more worthy of mention is this other fact that during the seventeen years that he has lived among the Indians his presence was sufficient to prevent an Indian from killing a white man.

On the 21st, about eight o'clock in the morning, we set off [from Fort Clay] and, thanks to the wind supplementing our oars, in a few minutes our barges find themselves before the opposition fort, Campbell by name.[2] Those who are substituting for the bourgeois, who is absent, salute our passage with a few volleys of musketry, which we acknowledge by waving our hats. This done we plunge into a solitude so profound that presently nothing else is to be seen but desolate places and wild animals; but the varieties of these latter are so beautiful and so numerous that this descent had perhaps more attractions for us than could be offered by the public parks of civilization. Within a few hours we saw wolves, goats, deer, big-horn stags, buffaloes, bears, eagles, cormorants, gulls, bustards, etc. Only in the evening did we see any kind of water creature. This was a brill, a fish which has three shoots of flesh of equal size protruding on each side of the mouth and suggesting a person with a moustache. It receives the name "Missouri Salmon" from its very delicate flesh. As a proof of the *similis simili gaudet,* its delicacy is in proportion to its size, which depends on the depth of the water in which it lives. Sometimes, the distance between the eyes of the brill is from fifteen to eighteen inches.

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[2] Certain clerks of the American Fur Company had left its service to organize an opposition company with the backing of Colonel Robert Campbell of St. Louis.

In the midst of these new [Indian] tribes are some old acquaintances that change our astonishment to pity. Who are they? An abandoned horse and dog. Poor beasts, why are you there? You are old and crippled for having served your master too well or too long. What service does not the Indian dog render to his master? Besides the services rendered by other dogs, the Indian dog takes the place of a horse when his master is poor, and, like the poor, often carries too many a heavy load. Besides, in these deserted plains the ground so bristles with sharp points produced by a certain plant called "prickly pear" that often the wounds added to fatigue force the poor animal to straggle behind. Then all he does is to drag himself painfully along until he meets some man or beast who ends or shortens his sufferings. One day an Indian sent in search of our faithful Carlo, who was lost in this manner, found him in the cabin where he had slept the preceding night. He was crying, the searcher told us, like a little child that has lost its mother.

The situation of a man sailing on a beautiful river has everywhere something magical about it in that the charming country traversed seems to ride in triumph at his side. But at certain places on the Missouri the charm redoubles on account of the beauties, real or artificial, that it displays along its shores. I reckon [as examples of] artificial beauty those great landslides produced by the deepness of the river bed, the mobility of the adjacent soil and the recession of high water. Looking closely, you see, it is true, nothing but frightful ravines, dark holes, hanging roots, overturned trunks of trees, in a word a picture of misery. But draw off ever so little, these gross masses assume more agreeable forms, the dark shades melt away, disparate objects knit themselves together, and sometimes, as in a mass of clouds, effects result which it would be impossible to see without pain or pleasure, sometimes without admiration, according to the nature of the strange beings which appear, suffer change and soon fade away, a palpable image of the illusions of youth.

May 22. These sights are far from being the same everywhere; but it is perhaps to their variety that the traveler owes his most agreeable sensations. Yesterday their yellowish tinge running into black, and the fact that they stood too close to us made them convey a woeful impression, which depressed one's spirits. Today the banks open up and gather into their embrace a more tender verdure, fresher groves, waters coming from nearer sources, bluish mountains with a shade of pink, lastly, a great space which gives something of its azure color to the picture, too dark or too bright, of this vast landscape; all this produces in the soul a dilating effect which has something about it of joy, a contrast all the more striking that a picture of civilization fallen in ruins was united with the melancholy sights of which I have spoken. I wish to speak of Fort Makenzi [McKenzie], which of all the forts of the Blackfeet has lasted the longest, and of Fort Pegane [Piegan], the first which the whites built on the Blackfeet lands. As the history of this last is bound up with the history of a pacification long desired and all the more desirable as before that time all the whites who fell into the hands of the Blackfeet were so many men who fell beneath their blows, you will allow me to pause here a moment.

It was only in the spring of 1831 that peace was concluded. It came in this wise (I put forward nothing which has not been certified to me by trustworthy witnesses). There was at that time at Fort Union a Canadian [Jean Bergier], who is still living and who was chatting with me this morning. This brave trader, having already spent twenty-one years in the forts of the North to which the Blackfeet used to go to trade, had frequent occasion to speak to the big men of the nation and had retained enough of the language to understand them and be understood by them. As he joined to this two-fold knowledge a very conciliatory character, his bourgeois, who at that time was Mr. Makenzi [McKenzie], asked him whether he felt himself courageous enough to go and bring to the Blackfeet the good tidings of which there was question for so long a time. To so honorable a proposal Berger responded finely and, in spite of the winter, and accompanied by four other Canadians no less devoted than himself, all of whom were furnished with presents for the Blackfeet, he set out, having no other desire than to die as a man of honor or to fulfill the noble mission with which he had been charged. They were all on foot, obliged to travel on in the snow and in quest of men of a kind they particularly wished to keep away from. Just think of the fatigue [they underwent] and of their courage. They walked for forty days without encountering any living beings other than the animals of the forest. On the 41st day, at dawn, a war party suddenly appeared. "We are lost," the companions of Berger said, "but it does not matter, we must fight." "No," answers their brave leader, "we have not come here to fight, leave it to me," and alone he advances towards the enemy. It was a Pegane [Piegan] party composed of seventeen men. How great was his joy upon recognizing the partisan, named Assapaké, to whom he had rendered a service quite recently. As a matter of fact, the savages never forget a favor. Here is the proof. They smoked the calumet and gifts were given. But either the quality or the quantity not corresponding to their expectations, some discontented savages took the liberty of adding to the gifts a good share of the booty of the deputation and all the deputies' guns but one. That did not suit them any too well, but what could be done? Fortunately, God, who holds in his hands the hearts of men, disposed the thieves in spite of themselves to listen to reason, and the partisan, who was not like them, had all proper restitution made. This done, we set out on the road again, and five days later, that is to say, on the 6th of March, we arrived with flag unfurled at a camp of Peganes [Piegans], who had Onestematone as their chief. Needless to say, they stared in amazement upon meeting us and welcomed the gifts offered. They listened with interest to the persons who addressed them and accepted their proposals, but under one condition [namely], that everything would be as stated. The distrust which the Blackfeet had of the traders still went so far at this period that they hardly believed in the sincerity of their words; but this time so many excellent proofs [of their sincerity] were given that the hardest [among the Indians] to be convinced joined with the others and all offered to conduct the peace-makers back to Fort Union, whether to defend them from attack on the way or to confirm more solemnly the alliance that had been made. After twenty days of rest and festivities Berger and his companions took up the trail back to their fort followed by 92 Indians and 32 squaws. On leaving they had said: "We shall be here May 15 at the latest; if at this time we have not arrived, it will be because things did not turn out as was hoped." Now this date was already passed and they had not returned. "What has become of them," their friends began to say to themselves, "what has become of them?" "Oh, they most likely have been massacred like so many others." Such were the melancholy thoughts which the delay was giving rise to and which were shared by almost the entire fort, when the cry was raised, "here are our men! here are our men!" Judge of the joy on all sides when they reappeared at the head of so numerous a company, all bearing themselves well, without fear or reproach, and with the flag of victory in their hands. In particular the bourgeois, whose honor and interest were at stake in the affair and who, moreover, was gifted with an excellent heart, did not know how to express his joy. Amid jubliations and rejoicings of every sort peace was confirmed to the great satisfaction of all and it was resolved that at the opening of the fair season men in sufficient numbers would leave to go and build a fort in the Blackfeet lands, a resolution which was put into effect. The fort built by order of Mr. Makenzi and under the direction of Mr. Keep [Kipp] was called Fort Pegane in honor of the first Blackfeet who had made an alliance with the whites, a token of delicate deference, which does honor not less to the wisdom than to the modesty of [its] founder. This fort having been burnt by a party of Bloods (*hommes du sang*), who apparently were not aware of the intentions [of the founder], orders were given to build a second one a little higher up and this one [McKenzie], which received the name the first one should have borne, prospered until 1844, at which juncture reasons of prudence dictated its removal. Apparently the vicinity of the Judith River (*rivière dite de la Judée*) coupled with the beauty of the environs tempted more than it ought to have done the persons commissioned to look after [Fort McKenzie], for experience having proved that these advantages as well as others which they thought they saw in that locality did not counter-balance the grave inconvenience of there being too many opportunities for enemies [to seize], one year after its construction Fort F. J. C. [François Jean Chardon], otherwise called Fort Judith, was transferred further up. This gave birth to Fort Louis [Lewis], which, as we have seen, after having achieved a long career in a short time, gave itself a successor in the fort now in process of construction and called Fort Clay. Not to omit anything that belongs to the ancient history of this journal, I must place in the neighborhood of Fort Louis and of Fort J. F. C. two forts of the opposition set up in 1844, which, as well as all those lower down, lasted scarcely longer than the span of a springtime. What shall we say of the thousand and one fortresses built by the Blackfeet? In this region they are sown like the grass of the field, only they have not its duration. Most frequently the morning destroys or abandons what the evening before has set up. So in these lands perhaps more so than elsewhere, in spite of foresight, skill, courage (none of these traits are lacking in the bourgeois of the company), it is true to say, "we have not here a lasting city." We saw that the longest lived of all, Fort Makenzi, lasted scarcely three lustres; but as it was to commerce, what Fort Louis was to religion, honor to its ashes!

The close connection I have tried to keep in the foregoing account has made me overlook certain [natural] monuments which call for notice. I wish to speak of what they call here the Citadel, the Pierced Rock and the Steamboat. The Citadel, which is the marvel of the place, instead of being a mere heap of sandy stones, is built of fragments of hard rock, which seem to be the product of some volcanic eruption. The Pierced Rock is remarkable only for a large hole which pierces it through and through. This, as well as the Steamboat, owes its existence in part to the constant erosion by wind and water. The loose soil which is part of their composition is mixed with more solid rock giving them some hope of lasting longer. To their picturesque form is added a blend of colors which gives them something of a venerable appearance.

* * *

May 23. Today they [the crew] have at least the satisfaction of being able to hear Holy Mass, for it is raining. How did they hear it? In the most respectful and convenient manner. While part of the crew get into the corners of my cabin not occupied by the altar, the other part keep silence and pray the best they can around the fire, which is drying their clothes.

Mass heard, the weather again becomes pleasant, the cry "all aboard" is heard, and we leave. Heaven favors us and earth offers us something whereby to elevate our thoughts.

* * *

The point of woods on our right furnished the wits last year with matter for more than one *bon mot*. The Count de Trente, a French traveler, who has left in these parts a great name for generosity, was going up the river in a barge to visit Fort J. F. C. On the way he took his pleasure in hunting and, following the noble inclination of his heart, abandoned the quarry to whomsoever might want it. His companion, who was also fond of hunting, had killed a deer. Two engagés were arguing over the skin and, the argument becoming animated, a storm was about to burst when the prostrate deer coming to suddenly walked off, of course without leaving its skin behind. What happened? The losers were the first to laugh. "Well," they said to each other, "this thing has made us friends."

Gifted with no mean share of gascon humor, "the mariner on these shores keeps his advantage and honor very often only by siding with the laughers when they laugh at him." [Verse.]

Here is another incident which hits off with scarce less effect the happy disposition of these mariners. One of them, a Frenchman by birth, generous towards everybody and no enemy of gaiety, for he was a Provencal, was begged one day by his comrades to solicit a little favor from the bourgeois. As the request had not met with the success anticipated, the pleader added in a manner which betrayed a little feeling: "Well, I know what they will do." "What will they do, you scamp?" replies the bourgeois. "What will they do?" answers the Provencal. "They will do without it." The bourgeois could not help laughing at the repartee which was made in a tone half serious and half humorous, and a little later he granted to the Gasconade the request that he had refused.

An instance of courage in the same man. There is in the Blackfoot country a job which might seem to be mere child's play, but it requires no less courage than vigilance to perform it as bandits roam about almost unceasingly in the hope of plunder. This job of horse-keeper, ordinarily trusted only to men of grit, fell to our Provencal. Like all other duties, he discharged this one so honorably that I know of not one of his acquaintances who did not lavish praise upon him. Many a time he saved the drove as well as himself. One day, however, he came back to the fort sooner than usual and, like a noble knight in the days of old, was able to say: "Everything is lost but honor." What had happened to him? His pal had been killed a few steps away from him, and he was able to put the robbers to flight only when they were mounted on the stolen horses. What proves that on this occasion as on more than one other, he did more than his duty, is the fact that he brought back in his left hand, his right arm having been broken by a bullet, a bear-knife, which is for the Indians what a [captured] floating flag is for civilized men. Although the fort felt keenly the loss it had sustained, the bourgeois, anxious to express his gratitude to the wounded man for his handsome conduct, promoted him a short time after to the rank of night sentinel, which is a leading one not only for honor but also for the strain it involves. During the long winter nights as well as during the summer ones he is obliged to mount the walls and descend therefrom unceasingly under penalty of failing in some point of duty. The night sentinel is ordinarily alone, but last winter, as the situation was becoming more dangerous, he was given as partner a "Franc-Comtois," who had won his spurs on the battlefield in the stormiest campaigns of Africa.

To make a fitting end of a topic on which it has been impossible for my heart not to dwell at some little length, I shall say that mature age, filial piety, love of country, the voice of religion, in fine, considerations one more honorable than the other, compelled our Provencal to think of revisiting his native land. His friends and the bourgeois expressed their appreciation of his character by supplementing the discharge of their debt of honor with a generous gift. Their behavior touched me all the more because two months before they had done precisely the same thing in the interests of religion. Although their offering might seem to have been made at the expense of our invalid (for the subscription had been started in his favor), he was the first one to rejoice over it and to break the news to me.

His name is Honoré Arnauld. May this name, which is well known in Provence, together with that I have just set down, recommend him effectively to the benevolence of the friends of religion, honor and humanity.[3]

May 24. Feast of our Lady Help [of Christians]. The ice in the neighborhood shows us that in two nights the thermometer went down forty-three degrees, a change due to a current of air, which is helped by the shores becoming more level. These shores, which flatten out the more they are wooded, are called points (*pointes*) on account of their very regular form and the projection of their peaks into the water. They are more or less separated from each other by sterile stretches; but from the great island to the [Mussel] Shell River (*rivière à la coquille*) they are so close to each other that we can count as many as twenty-four; to this region animals of the inoffensive kind retire all the more readily on account of the shade and pasture. Consequently an hour of the day hardly passed without our seeing a herd very close by.

We see on our right a dilapidated house, which was built during the winter of 1845 by A. Hamel, present interpreter at Fort Clay; he built it because the cold weather forbade him to go any farther. Near this house, through the cotton-wood trees on the left bank, we see in the far distance the blue shades of the rocky mountain otherwise called by the Indians Wolf Mountain on account of the large number of these animals who flock there. This supposes in the environs deer and [buffalo] cows in quantity for these gentlemen [i. e. wolves] ordinarily keep themselves on the trail of good and great company.

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[3] The name Honoré Arnault (with this spelling) occurs frequently as that of god-father in Father Point's Blackfoot register.

The attention of the passengers is fixed with the deepest interest on the slope of the neighboring hill. What do they see? A cow and her calf pursued to death by a band of wolves. The barge stops quickly to deliver them, the hunter lands, the captain follows him and I do the same to be a witness of a good deed. In order not to be discovered we go around the hill behind which the fight is taking place. Without being seen, we watch this desperate fight, which shows cruelty and hunger at grips with courage upheld by maternal love. The guns roar, the deadly lead strikes, the assassins take flight and their victim, worthy of a better fate, falls a few steps away from its little one. Poor little one! Though wounded near the heart, you are still on your feet; but you no longer have a mother. What will be done? Let the hunter act. He has delivered the mother; he will deliver the little one. How admirable the hunter's tenderness!

On these cooler shores are flowers, the most beautiful I have seen since our departure. A blue one, shaded with pink and star-shaped, arranges its clusters around a pyramidal stem, whose nodes are adorned at regular intervals with two leaves which gradually diminish in size. The other one is like the lupine but simpler and of a prettier yellow color, with pale green leaves growing three by three as those of clover. In honor of the feast of the day [May 24, Feast of Our Lady, Help of Christians], I called the first one *Auxillienne* [Helper] and the second one Mariana or "spring flower" of the Blackfeet, for I had already seen it in the neighborhood of Fort Lewis immediately after the close of winter. A little below looms up "dry point" (*la pointe seche*), thus called on account of the whitened trunks which cover the ground, some still up, others falling over; many are already down or are kept up only by other ruins. These dismal pictures, coming after flowers, recalled to my mind the paintings of the greatest of landscape painters, where eyes are represented "under the young elms and near them a tomb on which these words are written: 'And I also was a shepherd in Arcadia.'" [Verse.]

May 26. We are in sight of the round-shaped butte situated between the fort of the Blackfeet and that of the Assiniboines. It is distinguished from the others by its elevated position, by reason of which it commands them all, and by its round form flattened at the top. A big tree set on its left gives it the appearance of a feathered hat.

Close to the barge we see trees cut down, branches stripped of their bark, pieces of wood arranged in piles, and finally an animal which shows four very white teeth, a very low flat tail and paws resembling hands. All this indicates that we are in the region of the beaver. Everybody knows the industry, cleanliness, and gentle habits of this animal so helpful to trade. I shall speak of it only to say that its domain had seemed doomed to disappear soon from the face of the earth. But now, due to the fact that the hat manufacturer uses silk instead of [beaver] fur, it has begun to reproduce itself, and however short-lived be the tranquillity which it enjoys at present in these parts, especially in the neighborhood of the Yellowstone, it is to be hoped that it will recover its empire. This is a hope so much the more founded that the females bear several young ones at the same time, and the land-and-water cabins which shelter them defend them against the fury of the carnivorous animals.

On the top of the bluff the children of the barge pursue, come up to and fondle a live fawn, which they would like to have as their fellow-citizen; but as it is without its mother's milk, we conclude that it cannot live and that its suffering must be ended; at once the knife does its work. Presently there is a sadder and a greater spectacle. These are not children, these are the great powerful lords of the desert which have to undergo the rolling fire of all the barges. What will become of them? As they are placed between the fire and the inaccessible ramparts of the river they can escape death only by perilous paths. One of them struck in the heart goes adrift on the river; another seeking to escape gets tangled in a heap of branches; the bravest throw themselves in the river and in spite of the volleying reach the other shore; the strongest scale the high embankment close by; finally, what is not mortally wounded of the herd disappears, leaving the honors of victory to civilization.

May 27. Wind, fog, and rain. This mourning of Nature has been interrupted during the night only by dismal concerts, for everywhere there are creatures which take delight only in the misfortune of others. Here it is the wolves. So it is a treat for the children of the barge when some wolf receives a gun shot, which happens to the animals more often than they desire, thanks to the antipathy and skill of my little interpreter. The mere thought of their gluttony gives one an aversion for their meat. Providence looks down on this aversion with pleasure and so covers our table with such a great quantity of brills that there is enough to satisfy everybody.

May 28. We salute the Milk river, which owes its name to the whiteness of the water that it pours into the Missouri. Proud of a tribute as rich as it is beautiful, for it is the biggest received above the Yellowstone, the river widens, and as the neighboring mountains lower in the same proportion, the whole picture gains something in the way of majesty. In the evening, a [Ms.?] that is to say, a white-headed eagle brought down by our hunter and presented by Mr. Colberson seeks the honor of being painted. The king of the air is represented where he received the mortal blow, that is to say, under the walls of its palace.

May 29. An eagle's nest to which a happier souvenir is attached. At the foot of the tree where it is built little Josette, the oldest daughter of our pilot, was born eight years ago. Many rows of trees, which seem to have been planted by a skillful gardener, so well arranged are they, adorn the surroundings of this cradle and contribute further to its appearance. But all that beauty is surpassed by the piety, candor, and other happy traits of the child who was born there. While they were not on the water, she and her little sister Mary have not let a day of the month of Mary pass without coming to deposit at the feet of the Blessed Virgin some small wreath which they had made themselves; each one of these wreaths had been deserved by a good deed and each grain had cost them a prayer. These same children have been the first to decorate with flowers the Cross which rises aloft today on the land of the Blackfeet.

More ruins. This is all left of a fort which a dozen whites had been obliged to build to defend themselves against the Assiniboines. These whites were the remnant of the opposition [company] of 1844. When that company retired, these men stayed behind to taste a bit of wild life. But whether they could not adapt themselves to such a life, not having been born in its bosom, or did not wish to recognize any authority other than their own, they disagreed and dispersed as they had assembled, with the exception of a Canadian called Dupuis, who was killed by the Assiniboines, a death all the more deplorable that his morals were not correct. His death, however, had the good result of bringing about the baptism of the child which he had had by a squaw. This child was taken into the fort by a Mexican and was there at the time of our visit. Two months later he died before reaching the age of reason, and his remains were placed in holy ground in the hope of a glorious resurrection.

May 29. A serious accident nearly befell our flotilla. The wind blowing stronger than usual caused one of the barges to strike against the trunk of a tree, which cut into the two sides [of the barge]. But the damage was soon repaired by a party of rowers who by industrious effort loaded onto another barge the three hundred and sixty packages of robes before water could reach them. "Out of a hundred other barges damaged as badly as this one," the pilot said, "none would have been saved." This happened almost at the same place where fifteen years before the victualing barge had disappeared under the waves. The cargo lost was valued at ten thousand dollars; but this was not the greatest loss. The accident happened at night, and as the shore could be seen only by the flashes of lightning and as the storm was driving the barge along at an excessive speed, several who wanted to jump and did jump on shore were wounded, more or less seriously. There was a Canadian called Benoit who was found crushed between the gunwhale of the barge and the riverbank. A child of eight years was drowned in his bed and a squaw saved her life only by jumping right into the water. Michel Champagne, who was then and still is captain of the barge, was thrown ashore by a blow from the helm; but Heaven protecting the man who did nothing but give good example to his companions, the jump caused him no other harm than to make him see at closer range the sad lot of the others. The news of this disaster was carried to the bourgeois of Fort Union, who was then Mr. Makenzi [McKenzie]. He received it with noble resignation . . . the fate of the poor unfortunate victim was deplored. As for the rest, the bourgeois said only these words: "Don't be discouraged, my people; I still have something here to fit you out with."

Today is the Feast of the Holy Trinity. Thanks be to God and to the good dispositions of the crew, I have been able to say Holy Mass. Time given to God is never lost. In spite of the threat of a contrary wind, the day was almost what one might wish and the evening charming. The sun, about to finish its course and veiled behind a less transparent sheet of air, had exchanged its fires for the color of ruby. Above its disc, the rotundity of which was plainly visible against an azure background, was suspended a group of clouds shaded with purple, blue and violet in the form of drapery while a row of tall trees casting their shade into the river brought out all that beauty in relief.

What is the crew doing in presence of so rich a landscape? While the men, by the rapidity of their strokes, gave to our barges the appearance of so many chariots competing for a racing-prize, their wives, who were gathered on the platform of the craft, the children [being the while] under the pilot's eyes, were praying and singing hymns in honor of the Queen of Angels. Never had this desert land heard such hymns. What missionary would not be touched especially on hearing the repetition of this refrain: "How happy is one under His reign, what charms the pure of heart there find, everyone feels and breathes in love, innocence and peace." [Verse.]

May 31. The end of Mary's month and with it the end of my navigation in a barge and *en famille;* at last, so we thought, for to arrive in port we had only a few more miles to make. But a more than ordinary wind having started up, we had to think of making haste, which gave me occasion to observe how a skillful pilot goes about it to overcome the greatest difficulties of his art, which are to be found in struggling victoriously against perils with a tired-out crew. How did he go about it? Always the first at duty, he [Michel Champagne] gave to the others an example of patience and courage, and as he was equipped with stature, strength and address quite beyond the ordinary, everything contributed to give the rowers an esteem for his person. But what won him together with esteem the hearts of all was the circumstance that he knew how to mingle execution and orders with the gentleness of appeal. Music alone would render all the tones he could employ for his purpose. Here are some of his expressions *recto tono:* "Forward, my dandies! Let us make that point! Courage now! Courage now! Do you see that snag? Don't get stuck on it! Look out for the branches! Make for land! Fine, my good fellows! Here we are on land! It's all over tomorrow! Good appetite now!"

A mariner never lacks good appetite and so they sup in high spirits. This over, pipes are lit and there is chatting—about what? About the rest which the morrow will bring with it, about the discharge of cannon and the reception that will be given them. The next day [June 1] a magnificent sun. Its radiant globe stands up under our eyes. Two swans, white as snow, pass tranquilly on our right. A slight contrary wind is blowing but not enough to prevent the barge from going ahead or the cannon from being heard, for scarcely had the first stroke of our oars hit the air than the fort's [Union] flag is run up. Presently the cannon are replying, the walls are sighted, the fort's entire personnel draws near, the barges stop, salutes are given, greetings exchanged. Finally, comes handshaking and every token of friendship and sign of joy and the whole affair winds up with a banquet which gives pleasure at once to those who give it and those who partake. "For amid the repast the prodigal guests fill up their glasses with well-sugared coffee as though it were good wine and so banish fatigue." [Verse.]

NEWS AND COMMENTS

An elaborate biography of Bishop Bruté de Remur, first bishop of Vincennes, Indiana, is announced to appear early in 1931. The author, Sister Mary Salesia, O. S. B., Ph. D., of the Convent of the Immaculate Conception, Ferdinand, Ind., is a graduate of the Catholic Sisters' College, Catholic University, Washington, D. C. Her work, undertaken at the request of the Right Reverend Bishop of Indianapolis, is the fruit of wide and long-continued research at home and abroad. No American archives were overlooked, the East, the Middle West, and Canada contributing their treasures. A visit to Europe yielded numerous original letters and documents. These were found in Rome, in the archives of St. Sulpice, in Paris, in the Bollandist archives in Brussels, in Dublin, and especially in the episcopal and the Bruté family archives at Rennes, the native home of Bishop Bruté. At this latter place no fewer than four hundred letters in the possession of Canon Bruté and General Bruté, grandnephews of Indiana's first bishop, were graciously placed at the disposal of the diligent searcher. Travel and painstaking research have thus been woven into an interesting and inspiring biography of the saintly seminary professor of a hundred years ago and the apostolic and zealous bishop of the pioneer American West. The work promises to be a notable and permanent addition to American historiography.

The year 1930 saw two important Marquette celebrations. In June a tablet was unveiled in Portage Park on the outskirts of Chicago commemorating the arrival of Jolliet and Marquette in September, 1673, at the Chicago Portage, the historic "carrying-place" between the two great river-systems of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence. Where the intrepid pair turned in from the Des Plaines to Portage Creek, the diminutive stream which marks the beginning of the Portage district, there, so we are assured by two outstanding authorities on seventeenth-century Chicago, the history of the metropolis of mid-continental North America really began. It is because the Portage was the physical factor that made inevitable the upgrowth in its environs of a great center of human habitation that the memory of its discoverers is a precious thing to the people of Chicago.

On Sunday, October 12, was dedicated a stone monument to commemorate Father Marquette's historic wintering on the site of Chicago in the winter of 1674-1675. The monument stands on the northern approach of the magnificent new bridge spanning the west fork of the south branch of the Chicago river at Damen Avenue. A bronze tablet affixed to it bears the following inscription:

> "James Marquette, French priest, of the Society of Jesus, on his mission to the Illinois Indians spent here the winter of 1674-5.
>
> His Journal brought first to the World's attention the Advantages of climate, soil and transportation in the Mississippi Valley and the Great Lakes Basin.
>
> This Monument erected by the City of Chicago, Wm. Hale Thompson, Mayor; Michael J. Faherty, Chairman, Board of Local Improvements."

The erection of this memorial to the famous priest-explorer of the American West is due largely to the enterprising initiative and zeal of Thomas A. O'Shaughnessy, Chicago artist of note, who has thus sketched the evidence connecting Marquette's winter-camp of 1674-1675 with the site of the monument:

> "In 1844 when Ossian Guthrie, engineer, and James Malholland, stone mason, were building the Illinois and Michigan canal, the mound still used by the traders and Indians as the portage campsite, was covered by forest trees, some of them two feet in diameter and sixty feet in height.
>
> The trees were later cut for lumber. The fine glacial silt which composed the mound was found valuable in brick making and the mound disappeared soon after the Chicago fire of 1871. Nothing remains to indicate the location of this historic mound excepting the great natural basin in that section of the river which is now used as the "turning basin" for the larger boats.
>
> Many now living recall the mound with its tall trees in the marshy prairie land as the principal landmark at Chicago. The size of the great turning basin is evidence of the size of the portage mound which was formed of silt by the action of the waters in making the basin. Ossian Guthrie's records describe this mound as oval-shaped, 250 feet east and west, 150 feet wide and fourteen feet high, which corresponds with the size of the basin from which came the silt to build the mound.
>
> The presence of this mound of forest trees, sixty feet in height and two feet in diameter, when Ossian Guthrie surveyed that section of the river, indicates that the mound had been at that location for not less than a century before the arrival of Father Marquette. The mound of glacial silt was formed subsequent to the glacial period, hence it was evidently of remote antiquity.
>
> There is no physical indication at any other point on the river of a mound such as Father Marquette describes as the place of his abode. The monument marks the site of the portage mound "one of the most sacred

acres of the earth," where a frail missionary in fulfilling a pledge given the Indians, labored to conquer a wilderness and by his writings, to build a nation."

The current year, 1930, has been designated by formal proclamation of President Hoover as Oregon Trail Year. With a view to furnishing teachers with a bibliography of suitable titles on the topic, the U. S. Office of Education, Department of the Interior, has recently issued a bulletin, "Notes on the Oregon Trail," the author being Florence C. Cox, Assistant Specialist in Elementary Education, Office of Education. The two pages (32, 33) devoted to "The Missionaries," are all taken up with Marcus Whitman, the name of Pierre De Smet being left unmentioned. Quoting from Ghent, *"The Road to Oregon,"* the account informs us that "the movement of the missionaries was a direct response to an Indian appeal for teachers." The "appeal for teachers" was the famous visit of the four Rocky Mountain Indians to St. Louis in 1831 for the alleged purpose of securing the Bible or "the white man's book."

Historical research has long since demonstrated that no such purpose lay behind the visit in question. As far as the Indians had any religious motive at all in making the long journey to St. Louis, they were in quest of Catholic priests. This interpretation is borne out by a contemporary statement made by an unimpeachable witness in a matter of this kind, General William Clark, the explorer. The topic has been dealt with in an illuminating manner by the Reverend John Rothensteiner in the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review,* October, 1920. On the other hand, it has been maintained that the Indians in question were not in search of missionaries at all. Thus Maj. Edmond Mallet in *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* 2, 174-205. Cf. also Archer B. Hulbert in a paper read at a conference on the Trans-Mississippi West, University of Colorado, June, 1929: [Rev. Samuel Parker's] *Journal* states that the so-called "Fair Wise Men of the West" were not commissioned by their tribes to go to St. Louis for a "Book," but went out of curiosity. This important piece of information was received direct from the Nez Percés. *It was omitted from the published volume."* (Willard and Goodykoontz (ed.), *The Trans-Mississippi West,* p. 90.)

VARIA

AN INTERESTING FIND

In November, 1929, a Mr. James F. Herrick showed at Marquette University a gold ring, which he thought had some connection with Father Marquette. The ring had a medallion (or seal) of about one-fourth of an inch across, on which were engraved the letters I H S surmounted by a cross. Below these letters were seen three nails, the one in the center being rather short. The ring, which, including the medallion, was worked out of one piece of gold, comes from the Island of Mackinac. Mr. Herrick had received it from his grandmother, Mary Virginia Terhune, known as a writer under the pen name of "Marion Harland." During a lengthy stay on Mackinac, where she visited all the historically known spots, a resident family learned of her propensities and offered her this ring, stating that it had been found in the grave of Father Marquette. Mr. Herrick naturally treasures this ring very highly both as a keepsake from his grandmother, and because of its possible connection with the great missionary.

It is, of course, out of the question that this interesting relic should have been worn by the missionary himself or any of his brethren since the wearing of rings is frowned upon by the Jesuit rules. Nor could it have been found in the grave of Father Marquette, which is not on Mackinac Island, but on the opposite shore at St. Ignace, as the report made by Father Jacker on his discovery of the grave makes no mention of any such finds. But that the ring reaches back to the time when the members of the Society of Jesus had spiritual charge of those regions can hardly be doubted. It was probably worn by a well-to-do lay person who shared the veneration of the Holy Name of Jesus with his teachers.

The news of the finding of this ring was spread rapidly by the newspapers, not indeed without considerable inaccuracies. A short while later a letter arrived from Mr. Earle S. Holman of Antigo, near the northern boundary of Wisconsin, with the information that a friend of his was in possession of another such ring, which, however, was not of gold but of a very hard whitish metal. The medallion of the ring showed the same design, the letters I H S with the surmounting cross, but instead of the nails below there was a straight short line. It had been found, some twenty-five years ago, on the beach of Post Lake, not far south of Lac Vieux Desert.

Are we wrong in surmising that these two rings were not the only ones in use at the time of the old Jesuit missions, and that there existed a custom, though perhaps very limited, of wearing these religious tokens? Maybe other such rings have already been discovered and are now in the possession of private persons, perhaps even in museums or other collections of Canadian relics.

It is not likely that these rings were produced in Canada itself. They were probably imported from France. They cannot have been introduced into the Lake region after 1773, the year of the suppression of the Society of Jesus, when it had become risky in France to show any propensity towards the Order, its works, and its emblems. Nor may they have come before the Christian community of Indians and whites had reached a certain settled condition and a certain degree of material well-being. We may perhaps date these rings roughly between 1700 and 1750. (The addresses of the two gentlemen are: Mr. James T. Herrick, 8545 115th Street, Richmond Hill, N. Y.; Mr. Earle S. Holman, Editor of the *Antigo Daily Journal,* 1418 Clermont Street, Antigo, Wis.)

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ALEXANDER VI AND THE AMERICAN CHURCH

When Pope Alexander VI sent Bernardo Boil faculties as Vicar General in America, he transmitted to the new world the continuity of the Apostolic Church. To be sure, church and state were closely united in Spain and the church institutions were begun under royal patronage and at royal request, but nevertheless the authority by which the church was established came directly from the Holy See. The Bull, dated VII kalend. Julii, 1493, which has been translated both as July 7 by de Lorgues and as June 23 by Fita, was found in the Vatican Secret Archives (Arch. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Bullar. An. I, t. VI, Regest. 771. f°. 122.) by de Lorgues in 1851 (Colomb, vol. I, p. 510) and printed by De Roo in 1892. De Lorgues could not locate the Bull in the Spanish archives in 1851 and became perhaps unduly suspicious that the lacuna was intentional. Father Fidel Fita (1835-1917), the distinguished Spanish historian, becoming interested in the identity of Bernardo Boil during some researches he made in the Spanish archives, first referred to him in the paper which he read before the International Congress of Americanists in 1881. Subsequently he pursued his quest until he was able to publish in the *Boletín* de la Real Academia de la Historia in 1891-2 many important pieces of evidence on the identity of Father Boil. A rather amusing dispute has long been open on the name of the religious order to which Father Boil was affiliated. This will be discussed below. The fact that a vicar apostolic was appointed by the Pope and came to the new world on Columbus's second voyage with several assistant priests is a matter of the first importance.

More than one reputable historian of the American Church has failed to note the historical fact of Father Boil's appointment. Of course, Dr. John Gilmary Shea made no pretense of including the period of discovery in his *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days.* Yet in his introduction to that volume, which was published in 1886, he does state that until 1512 the American Church was dependent on the Archdiocese of Seville. Dr. O'Gorman (*History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* published in 1895) follows Shea in this. Dr. Heuser in 1896 published an article on Father Boil in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* VII, pp. 141-154, in which he quoted R. H. Clarke who was familiar with Columbian literature; but the discoveries of Father Fita are not mentioned. Even in 1908 Father Donovan, O. F. M., contributed an article on Bernardo Buil to the *Catholic Encyclopedia,* III, p. 40, which undoubtedly would have been materially revised if he had known of Father Fita's work. Pastor, however, had depended on Fita in his *History of the Popes,* vol. III, 1895, German edition, and vol. VI, 1898, in Antrobus's translation. It has remained for the present time to disclose to American readers the limited amount of knowledge so far procured about the first vicar apostolic. Monsignor De Roo, who made a life study of the Columbian and pre-Columbian periods, published the most thorough discussion of Bernardo Boil yet worked out in vol. III of his *Material for a History of Pope Alexander VI* published in New York, 1924, by the Universal Knowledge Foundation. E. Ward Loughran makes Father Fidel Fita's work known adequately for the first time in America in the January, 1930, number of the

Ecclesiastical Review. Thus, after five hundred years, the name of Bernardo Boil is being restored to fame.

The Bull of Pope Alexander VI, of which a facsimile appears in the Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. I, p. 412, is addressed to *Dilecto filio Bernardo Boil fratri ordinis minorum, Vicario dicti ordinis in Hispaniarum regno.* The fact that the Bull is addressed to a member of the Order of Friars Minor has given rise to a curious theory of identity. Count Roselly de Lorgues, the first of the "canonizers" of Christopher Columbus, was quite sympathetic toward the Franciscans because of their evident friendship for Columbus dating from his visit to La Rabida. He had learned from Herrera that the complaints filed against Columbus's administration were in large part the work of the Benedictine vicar, Bernardo Boil. When he found the Vatican Bull directed to a *fratri ordinis minorum,* he was puzzled. The solution of the problem which he worked out (*Colomb,* vol. I, pp. 506-510) was finer in loyalty than in historical sense. He reasoned that since a Franciscan was appointed and a Benedictine came there must have been two men in Spain of similar name, one of whom was substituted wrongly by king Ferdinand,—"the wily Ferdinand," Clarke calls him,—for the papal appointee. This opinion has been consistently followed in later discussions of Boil and Columbus, notably by Tarducci (1885) and even by Justin Winsor (1891). Winsor, however (*Columbus,* p. 307), with keen historical insight, ridicules the implication even though he had no further evidence to dispute the theory. The truth of the matter, according to Fita's documents, is that there was only one Bernardo Boil and that he was a Benedictine from 1481-1492 and became a Minim in 1492.

The end of the fifteenth century in Spain saw the beginning of Cardinal Ximenes's heroic efforts to reform the Franciscans, his own order, and later the other religious orders at the Pope's behest. At the same time another attempt to institute reform in the Franciscan rule was made in France by St. Francis of Paula. Monsignor De Roo says (III, p. 166) that on Feb. 26, 1493 the Pope confirmed the "Congregation of the poor hermits observantines of the order of Minims" and the constitution composed for them by St. Francis of Paula. The "Order of Minims," as they were called later, was evidently a briefer appellation. They were approved by Bull of May 1, 1501. Monsignor De Roo in another connection, vol. III, pp. 124-134, shows that on April

19, 1493, Pope Alexander VI established regular observance in the Benedictine Abbey of Monteserrat by uniting and forever incorporating it with the recently reformed Monastery of Valladolid. Bernardo Boil is called a Benedictine of Monteserrat by Gams (*Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien,* 1879, vol. III, t. 2, p. 96). Herrera also refers to him as "Bernardum Boillium abbatem Montis Serrati" and as "D. Boillii Catalani Abbatis Monteserrati," (Dec. I, Lib. 1, c. 8 et seq., and Dec. I, Lib. 2, c. 5). It would seem logical to think, in the reform instituted at Monteserrat, that Bernardo Boil might have become converted to the idea of reform as exemplified by Cardinal Ximenes in the Franciscans or as constituted by St. Francis of Paula, who was, later at least, a good friend (Boletin, XIX, 214; De Roo, III, 70 et seq.). In either case it should be expected that the Roman Bull was correctly addressed "fratri ordinis minorum" since the Minims were a new order based on the Franciscan rule. It seems probable, therefore, that E. Ward Loughran argues incorrectly when she thinks a clerical error occurred in the papal chancery in writing "minorum" when "minimorum" was meant. Monsignor De Roo's conclusion that "the bulls refer to the Order of Minors because the Minims were of Franciscan origin but were unknown to the Roman chancery" seems sounder. There is one other possibility, that in the transition from Benedictine to Minim Father Boil became attached to the Franciscan rule of Minorites before accepting the stricter rule established by St. Francis of Paula. In either case it is obvious that the reform of monastic institutions in Spain was in active progress in 1493 and that Father Boil was profoundly affected by it.

The character of Father Boil cannot yet be fully understood. Between Roselly de Lorgues's bitter prejudice against him because of his criticism of Columbus and Father Fita's and Monsignor De Roo's picture of him as a "man of great talents and learning" there is a complete contradiction. The reasonable assumption must be that a priest who as vicar of Monteserrat when Pope Julius II was a member of the community was well and favorably known at court, and whose appointment was asked at Rome through the Spanish ambassador, Bishop Carjaval, by authority of King Ferdinand himself, must have been a man of some parts to have been intrusted with the important duty of organizing a new mission in co-operation with the Admiral of the Ocean-Sea. He may have lacked a true vocation of missionary to the natives of San Domingo, whose language and customs he did not know, and he may have seen too many practical problems unsolved to have been able to share the ideals and vision of Columbus as to a Spanish dominion in the new world, but his character as a worthy priest can hardly be questioned in view of his reputation among the leading Spanish ecclesiastics of his time. The fact that he increased the mortifications of his own interior life by affiliating himself with a severely ascetical order like the Minims should add to the respect due him. Finally, Pope Alexander VI was himself a Spaniard who was conversant by personal knowledge and by frequent communication with the Spanish court and the church in Spain and must have known the sort of man he appointed to such an important post. Alexander VI, whatever may have been his faults, was a great pope. His support of monastic reforms, his continued reliance on the sanctity of Cardinal Ximenes in improving the spiritual life of the Spanish people, and his interest in the new world (Bull "Inter cetera divina," May 4, 1493) are but a few evidences of the very real influence Pope Alexander VI had in the beginnings of the American Church.

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Loughran cites Las Casas, Touron, O. P. (1758), Irving, de Lorgues and Nouel in her article. Her chief omissions are De Roo, Pastor, and Gams.

De Roo cites Las Casas, Oviedo, Herrera, Gómera, Pacneco, Muñoz, Fita, Nouel, Prescott, Bancroft, Arch. Vat., Raynaldi, Navarrete, Sandini, Civiltà Cattolica, Bérault, Charlevoix, Cantu, Pastor, Peter Martyr, Wadding, Rafinesque, Humboldt, and Gams.

It is obvious that De Roo's reading is wider than Loughran's and therefore his judgment on disputed points is sounder, coming at the end of a long life of study. Loughran's very great service is in making Fidel Fita's work in Spanish available to English readers.

FATHER JOSEPH DE BONNECAMPS

On June 15, 1749, an expedition left Montreal under the command of Captain Pierre Celoron with twenty-three canoes and two hundred and forty men; it returned to the city on November 18 of the same year, being five months and eighteen days on its mission. No battles were fought, although the men were armed and ready for any combat. Only one of the party was lost, and that in a canoe accident at the very start of the voyage.

Accompanying the Canadian troops was a Jesuit missionary, Father Joseph de Bonnecamps. He was the historian of the expedition and the first to write an account of the Maumee Valley, his published map being the earliest we possess of the Ohio country.

Captain de Celoron was described by him as "a man attentive, clear-sighted, and active; firm but pliant when necessary; fertile in resources, and full of resolution,—a man in fine made to command."

Passing from the Saint Lawrence to Lake Ontario, the expedition went along the south shore and entered Lake Erie. They made a portage from Lake Erie in to what is now Chautauqua Lake, and paddled down the stream to the Allegheny River and on to Port Pittsburg (Duquesne). This was the 29th of July, 1749. So far the expedition was in friendly territory; now it was on disputed ground. But it was ground that the French were determined to hold. With ceremony Captain Celoron attached the royal arms of France to a tree, and on the south bank of the Ohio River he buried a plate of lead whose inscription read: "In the year 1749, in the reign of Louis XV, King of France, Celoron, commandant of a detachment sent by the Marquis de la Galissonière, General Commandant of New France, to establish tranquillity in certain savage villages of these districts, has buried this plate at the confluence of the

Ohio and the Tchadakoin, this 29th of July, near the River Ohio, otherwise known as the *Beautiful River*. This we do as a monument of the renewal of the possession which we have taken of the said river Ohio, and of all the rivers which discharge in it, and of all the lands on both sides as far as the sources of the said rivers, even as they have been possessed, or ought to have been possessed by the preceding kings of France, and as they have maintained their authority therein by arms and by treaties, especially those of Riswick, Utrecht, and Aix la Chapelle."

Then down the "Beautiful River" floated the canoes of the Frenchmen. Five times they stopped, five times they raised high the flag of their country, and five times planted the lead plates with descriptions and dates.

But the Jesuit missionary was not only interested in the main purpose of the mission; he wrote accurately of the river, with its great forests, its animals, birds, and flowers. One day seven rattlesnakes were caught. Father de Bonnecamps makes these notations in his diary: "This snake differs in no way from others, except that its tail is terminated by seven or eight little scales, fitting one into the other, making a sort of clicking sound when the creature moves or shakes itself. Some have yellow spots scattered over a brown ground, and others are entirely brown or almost black. There are, I am told, very large ones. None of these which I have seen exceed four feet. The bite is fatal."

September 6 the expedition had reached the mouth of the Big Miami River. This was as far as the leader had planned to go. The sixth and last of the leaden plates was buried here, and by this act New France laid claim to the whole of the territory now embraced within the limits of the state of Ohio.

"Rocky River" the French called Miami, owing to the number of its rapids. It was a laborious part of the expedition, for the clear and wide current of the Ohio must be exchanged for a shallow and twisting channel. The rocks cut into the frail canoes and made mending a matter of daily work. Rumors were heard of large villages in the interior of the country between Lake Erie and the Ohio. They must be won over and strengthened against the oncoming English. On the 20th of September on the upper waters of the Miami River, the canoes of the expedition were burned. Carrying what they could on their backs, the members started across the portage and in five days reached Fort Miami, later to be called Fort Wayne.

At this post a rest of a week was taken. Father de Bonnecamps wrote:

> "The fort of the Miamis was in a very bad condition when we reached it; most of the palisades were decayed and fallen into ruins. Within there were eight houses, or to speak more correctly, eight miserable huts, which only the desire of making money could render endurable. The French there numbered twenty-two; all of them, even to the commandant, had the fever. M. Raimond, who was in charge did not approve of the location of the fort, and maintained that it should be placed on the bank of the St. Joseph River, distant only a scant league from the present site. He wished to show me the spot, but the hindrances of our departure prevented me from going thither. All that I could do was to trace for him a plan for his new fort. . . .
>
> The Miami [Maumee] River caused us no less embarrassment than did the Rocky River. Almost every instant we were stopped by beds of flat stones, over which it was necessary to drag our pirogues by mere force. I will say, however, that at intervals were found beautiful reaches of smooth water, but they were few and short. At the last six leagues the water is broad and deep, and seems to herald the grandeur of the lake into which it discharges its waters. At six leagues above Lake Erie I took the altitude and found it was 42° 0′.
>
> We entered the lake on the 5th of October. On entering it there is to the left the bay of Onanguisse, which is said to be very deep. Soon after one encounters to the right islands on which there are many snakes [Isles aux Serpents]. On the sixth we arrived at the mouth of the Detroit River, where we found canoes and provisions for our return. . . ."

The above paragraphs contain all the references made by Father Bonnecamps to the future Toledo district and the Maumee Valley. Though the account is meagre it is of special interest as being the first on record. Bonnecamps was a careful observer and exact chronicler. It is remarkable that the commander of a fort should apply to him for plans for a new and more scientific construction.

After a short stay at Detroit Celoron made his way back to Montreal, reaching the city November 18, 1749. His expedition seemed a peaceful one, but it was fraught with far-reaching significance. It reasserted the claims of France to the entire stretch of country north of the Ohio River, and as far west as the Mississippi. Celoron went on a mission of peace, but he was prepared to measure arms with any unfriendly Indians or any of the English vanguard. He went unopposed because those who saw him felt that he was too well equipped to be met in battle. Behind this expedition of Celoron stood New France. Six years later the ill-fated Braddock came with beating drums and proud battle array to destroy the ever-growing power of the northern rival. At the end of the century the scene had shifted and Mad Anthony Wayne was attacking the English in the valley of the Maumee. With the opening of the new century the fight was still on. A pleasant hour's drive from Toledo brings the interested student to the site of the Battle of Fallen Timbers and on to Defiance, the headquarters of Wayne. The struggle all but ended at the spot where close to Toledo stands the monument of Fort Meigs.

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GLEANINGS FROM CURRENT PERIODICALS

"Galveztown, a Spanish Settlement of Colonial Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* October, 1930. This article is really a thesis submitted by the author, V. M. Scramuzza, for the degree of master of arts, and printed from the carbon copy lent to the Rosenburg Library in Galveston; it is thus a monograph of importance to the student of Louisiana history. Galveztown or Old Spanish Town, as it was called, "was situated on the right bank of the Amite River, immediately below the confluence of Bayou Manchac." The author corrects Alcée Fortier's statement that the site was the little hamlet of Galvez, which was really two miles away. The town, settled about 1776, was named for Don Bernardo Galvez, provisional governor of Louisiana. The first settlers were English and American; but in 1778 colonists were brought over at the King's expense from the Canary Islands. The provincial characteristics of these Canarese were the source of much trouble later. "A house was built for each family and a church built in each settlement. They were supplied with cattle, fowls, and farming utensils; rations were furnished them for a period of four years out of the King's stores, and considerable pecuniary assistance was also afforded them" (quoted from F. X. Martin's *History of Louisiana*). In 1779 Spain entered into the war against Great Britain and the British built Fort Graham in the vicinity of Galveztown. Collel, the local commandant, built another fort and an engagement on August 26 was expected; but on August 30 the British withdrew. The Galveztonians captured several

British ships. Galveztown was an army post after peace was signed in 1783 and until 1795 when the Mississippi was declared free for American navigation. Fray Francisco Lopez came as parish priest to Galveztown on March 31, 1779, but died in six months. He was succeeded by Fray Valentin. The local church, dedicated to St. Bernard, was, as early as 1781, united with that of St. Gabriel at Manchac on the Iberville coast, of which the pastor was Fray Joseph de Arazena. The last Galveztown parish entry is dated February 22, 1807. The local padre was miserably housed and received, besides fees, a salary of four hundred and eighty dollars. This salary, curiously enough, was double that of every other pastor in Louisiana except that of New Orleans. Yet the priests must have saved property, because we find the regulation that when the parish priest died, the net proceeds of a sale of his effects were to be divided into three funds: "the first to be destined for the celebration of masses for the repose of the deceased's soul, the second to go to the parish, and the third to be put aside and turned over to the new pastor when one will be appointed." Espousals were treated as a very formal and solemn pledge. If the couple broke their engagement, they were prohibited from contracting marriage with another person unless the Church released them from their previous obligation by a canonical dispensation. Persons under twenty-five were minors and must obtain their parents' or relatives' consent to marry.

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July, 1930, has an article on "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in the Iowa Country, 1797-1798," written by Abraham P. Nasatir, whose writings indicate his familiarity with this locality and period. The rivalry referred to was due to the persistency with which British traders continued to trade with the Indians for furs in Spanish territory west of the Mississippi even after the treaty of Paris in 1763 excluded the British from that region. Sixteen documents, now in the Bancroft Library of the University of California, and not hitherto printed in either the original language or in translation, are appended to Mr. Nasatir's narrative of events. Among these documents is the Journal, kept by François Cailhol, of the voyage of Molina's vessel, *La Fleche,* up the Mississippi to Prairie du Chien from March 22 to May 29, 1798.

In the *Indiana Magazine of History* for March, 1930, Dorothy Riker gives a sketch of the life of a man, Colonel Francis Vigo, who gave important aid to the American cause during the Revolution, sacrificing monies advanced to the Government which were never returned to him. Colonel Francis Vigo, an Italian born in Mondivi, enlisted in a Spanish regiment, came to Havana, Cuba, and having heard tales of adventure and of opportunity in the fur trade, went to St. Louis in 1772. From there as a center he carried on what proved to be a lucrative trade in furs with neighboring Indians and sold supplies to settlers. "Francis Vigo," writes Miss Riker, "was a Roman Catholic and became a member of Father Pierre Gibault's congregation in St. Louis." His service to George Rogers Clark was most valuable. He lent Clark money and kept in close touch with him. After 1783 Vigo lived in Vincennes, where he became the largest land-holder in that vicinity. He had as his associates in business Pierre Menard, who later became lieutenant-governor of Illinois, and Toussaint Dubois, after whom an Illinois county was named. He furnished needed rations on two occasions to the United States government, and twice acted as spokesman in conferences with the Indians. In Vincennes he was for some years trustee of St. Francis Xavier Church; but unfortunately he became lukewarm in his religious duties toward the end of his life. "If we pause to think of those men who made Clark's expedition possible," writes Miss Riker, "the Italian Vigo becomes a central figure."

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THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES

The fifteenth national convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies convened in New York City August 20-24, 1916. It was the greatest convention ever held by Federation and resolved itself in a "Catholic Week," for there convened at the same time the German Central Verein, the Catholic Press Association and the Young Men's National Union. The three American Cardinals, the Apostolic Delegate, and thirty-nine Bishops attended.

The opening services were held in St. Patrick's Cathedral. Cardinal John Farley pontificated, assisted by Rt. Rev. J. F. Mooney, V. G., Monsignor J. S. Lynch of Utica, N. Y., and Monsignor F. A. O'Brien of Kalamazoo, Mich. In the sanctuary, Cardinal O'Connell of Boston, Mass., Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore, His Excellency Most Rev. John Bonzano, Apostolic Delegate, occupied special thrones, and surrounding these distinguished churchmen were four Archbishops, thirty-five bishops, two score of Monsignori, hundreds of priests and twelve knights of St. Gregory. It was estimated that eight thousand persons were in the Cathedral as the procession entered. The Cathedral choir was augmented with one hundred and fifty male voices from the Cathedral of Pittsburgh, Pa., who chanted the Ordinary of the Mass.

Just before the sermon the Rt. Rev. Mgr. M. J. Lavelle, rector of St. Patrick's Cathedral, mounted the pulpit and conveyed greetings from Cardinal Farley and read the following message from Rome:

Rome, August 17, 1916.

To Cardinal Farley,
Archbishop of New York:

The Holy Father, Pope Benedict XV, will watch with a loving and paternal eye the American Federation of Catholic Societies of the U. S. holding their annual convention in New York.

He sends earnest wishes that your friendly discussion shall accomplish much for the welfare and honor of the Catholic name in your favored land, and hopes for the most consoling results from your concord, activity and wisdom.

He grants most heartily the Apostolic Benediction to the Federation and to all who shall take part in the convention.

CARDINAL GASPARRI

SERMON BY BISHOP T. F. HICKEY

The sermon, which followed Msg. Lavelle's brief address of welcome was preached by Rt. Rev. Thomas F. Hickey, D. D., Bishop of Rochester, N. Y. He spoke in part as follows: "What are today the serious and threatening forces that are opposing the Church—the Kingdom of Christ? They are, first, the tendency to do away with positive belief. . . . Secondly, the attractions of worldly gain and possessions; the allurements of pleasure so often tinged or filled with sin and vice. . . . Thirdly, that fearful blow at the family life in the assumption of our courts to dissolve the marriage tie. . . . Today we meet in this magnificent temple to beg God's blessing on a constructive movement in the Church—Federation. With a solemnity seldom equaled, representatives of Holy Mother Church, from the humble layman to the Cardinal Princes, we are assembled to do a part in the strengthening and extending of God's Kingdom on earth." The bishop then spoke of the scope and purpose of Federation and answered the questions: Is Federation necessary or useful? Is it doing its work? How can the organization be made more powerful and secure?

THE MONSTER MASS MEETING AT MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

The first mass meeting of the Convention took place at the old Madison Square Garden, New York City. It was a monster affair. The press the next morning stated: "Fifteen thousand persons in Madison Square Garden and several thousand more outside the building greeted the four leaders of the Catholic Church in the United States, Cardinals Gibbons, Farley and O'Connell and Archbishop Bonzano, Sunday night at the opening meeting of the convention of the A. F. of C. S. Although each of the prominent Catholics that mounted the platform of the Madison Square Garden was received with applause, the appearance of the Cardinals of

New York, Baltimore and Boston, led a demonstration that lasted several minutes."

The mass meeting was opened by Mr. Frank W. Smith, President of the New York Federation, who introduced Hon. John Whalen, National President. Mr. Whalen in turn introduced Governor Whitman of New York and Acting Mayor Hon. Frank L. Dowling, who extended welcome on behalf of state and city.

CARDINAL FARLEY SPEAKS

Cardinal Farley was then introduced. His Eminence spoke in part as follows: "As I look out over this representative gathering, one idea comes chiefly to my mind, and I think it expresses better the purpose of the Federation than any other, the idea of solidarity. The idea of solidarity is part and parcel of our holy religion. . . . What better concrete illustration of the idea of solidarity than the various societies here assembled, each one of which was organized for a special religious and social purpose, each one of which comes to this general gathering to have that religious and social purpose quickened, widened, and made common. . . . The world looks upon solidarity as meaning no more than natural sympathy, . . . but to us solidarity is a supernatural and revealed law, not a mere natural sentiment of emotion."

CARDINAL GIBBONS SPEAKS

His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons was the next speaker. He said in part: "I am sure that there is not a single member of the Federation here tonight in whose heart there is a fibre which does not pulsate with undivided love for our country and its sacred traditions. . . . We have among us from time to time pessimists, prophets who are foretelling the downfall and the ruin of our country. These prophets of evil tell us that the country will go to the dogs, to use the language of the day, unless their favorite candidate is elected. I have been listening to these dire prognostications for the last fifty years, but it always happens the morning after the election day that the American people arise from their beds to find that it was a false alarm, that the country is safe and that our government is transacting its business in the same old place as before. . . . I have an abiding faith in our American institutions. . . . We should all endeavor to uphold the hands of those who are charged with the administration of public affairs, just as did the children of Israel hold up the hands of Moses when he prayed. One of the objects of Federation is to strengthen old friendships and to establish new ones."

THE APOSTOLIC DELEGATE SPEAKS

His Excellency Most Rev. John Bonzano, Apostolic Delegate, was introduced. He said: "As the representative of the Pope, I have accepted with great pleasure your invitation to attend your convention. This is a remarkable gathering. I could not help thinking of the contrasts here and in Europe. Here you are doing a constructive work; there they are doing a destructive work. No, Christianity has not failed—it is man who has failed. Man got to be too proud of his material progress. He cast aside

God and made himself satisfied with material progress. You of the Federation are working for God and His Church and your country."

CARDINAL O'CONNELL'S ADDRESS

The principal address of the evening was delivered by His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell of Boston, Chairman of the Advisory Board of the A. F. of C. S. Cardinal O'Connell's subject was "Our Country." It was one of the most patriotic addresses ever heard in America and a few days later it was printed in full in the Congressional Record of Washington, D. C. The address was published in all the leading Catholic and secular papers and commented upon most favorably. Cardinal O'Connell said in part: "A land, broad and fair, its shores washed by two mighty oceans; its giant mountains guarding priceless treasures; its trackless forests yielding the hoarded wealth of centuries; its mighty rivers bearing the fortunes of untold millions; its endless myriads of resources still but scarcely touched, and beneath their surface boundless realms of prosperity and abundance, that is our Country, that is what the children of the nation call God's own country, *America.* It is because America is the home of freemen and because over all alike waves her sacred banner of liberty, that we love her with a love next only to that we owe to the Kingdom of God. It is because every man living on her sacred soil can say those three little words: 'I am free.' Take away freedom from a Nation and what is all the rest? Nothing, nothing, less than nothing."

The Cardinal then spoke of liberty and stated that eternal vigilance is needed to safeguard liberty. He said: "Even blood-drenched Europe is at last thoroughly convinced that the Voltaires and the Vivians, the Haeckels and the Nietzches, the Tolstois and the Huxleys, the Kants and all the rest of that monstrous brood are now reaping their terrible and abundant harvest. If ever America needed the wholehearted love of her children it is today. And she can surely and reliably depend in every need and emergency upon the 18,000,000 of Catholics who are proud to be subjects of the Kingdom of God on earth and citizens of America. It is not we Catholics, but the leaders of all the non-Catholic bodies, who openly declare that Protestantism has lost its hold upon the masses, that every year hundreds of their churches are closed."

In speaking of the bigots His Eminence said: "We know very well the whole litany of accusations against us—that we give only a divided allegiance; that we are scheming for governments. These are all lies so patent that they need no answer. But I am going to answer them once and forever here tonight. As a Cardinal I may be supposed to know what I am saying on this subject. And on my word as a gentleman of honor I am speaking the simple, absolute truth."

"I have known intimately, personally and officially three Sovereign Pontiffs——three Popes of the Catholic Church. I am a priest now thirty-two years. I am a bishop fifteen years and a Cardinal five years. I have had the closest relations with not only the Pope, but the whole Roman curia, I know very well every priest in my diocese and every bishop in this country. Yet never have I ever heard spoken, lisped or whispered or even hinted by any or all of these anything concerning America and American institutions, but words of affection, of tender and kindliest solicitude for her welfare. If there is plotting I ought to know it. Yet absolutely and honestly of such things I have never heard even a whisper."

"This is my answer to all these insinuations. That I know the truth I think no one will deny. The Catholic civil allegiance divided? Why look across the sea to where all Europe is in arms. Every Catholic is fighting loyally, giving his very life for his own country. And the Pope—is there any one in this country who would dare accuse the Pope of interference in civil affairs or of weakening the loyalty of citizens? Behold him weeping and praying for the peace of the Nations, offering solace and counsel to all alike."

"Our country! God keep you free from such enemies whose hate would rob your most faithful sons of that for which they love you—liberty, true liberty, blessed Holy Liberty—the freedom to worship God. Beyond our lives we love our faith and with these same lives we stand ready to defend the land which gave us liberty. These are the sentiments of every Catholic throughout the land, these are the sentiments of every member of the Catholic Federation of America."

A tremendous applause followed the patriotic address of Cardinal O'Connell, after which short addresses were made by Hon. Bourke Cochran on "The Duties of American Citizens," and by Dr. James J. Walsh. The latter, in his address stated that the Catholic Federation was only another wave of the Catholic Guilds of the 13th and 14th centuries and he made his lesson a lasting one by painting delightfully a clear-cut picture of Guild life in Shakespeare's town centuries before it produced its great poet.

The musical program for the mass meeting was furnished by the German Catholic Choral Societies of New York and the Metropolitan Opera House Orchestra. The singing of the "Star Spangled Banner" and "Holy God" closed the mass meeting.

MONDAY'S BUSINESS SESSIONS

The business meetings of the convention were held in the Cathedral College Hall. Mr. Thomas Flynn of Chicago, vice-president, opened the meeting and introduced Cardinal O'Connell.

Cardinal O'Connell recalled in his brief address the great mass meeting of Sunday night, saying: "I was proud as I looked around and saw that vast assemblage last night, and saw that most learned and wonderful man, Cardinal Farley, and the dear beloved Cardinal Gibbons and the living representative of the Holy Father, Archbishop Bonzano, and that vast audience of, they say, twenty thousand. And this morning we have Bishop McFaul here with us—so modestly and his presence scarcely noticeable. He is the Father of the Federation in whose heart that wonderful germ was placed by the grace of Almighty God—it was nothing else. Now, we are ready to work. We will have a whole army of friends, intellectual, moral and spiritual with us who will stand up as Leo XIII himself said, 'like a great wall in defense of truth; as a bulwark of the Church of God.'"

Bishop James McFaul responded touchingly to the eloquent words of Cardinal O'Connell, after which the meeting proceeded.

The Committee on Credentials, appointed by the chairman, was composed of F. W. Heckenkamp, Jr., Quincy, Illinois; Austin Finnegan, New

York City; Francis J. Sullivan, Brooklyn, N. Y.; G. G. Daly, Boston, Mass.; R. W. Egan, Pennsylvania. The Credential Committee reported ten hundred and eighty-six delegates in attendance. England, Canada, Porto Rico, South America, Portugal, and British West Indies were represented by Fraternal Delegates.

Mr. John Whalen, National President, gave an account of his year's stewardship, and he was followed by an address by Rev. John J. Burke, C. S. P., on the "Catholic Theatre Movement."

National Secretary Anthony Matre then gave an extensive report on Federation activities since the last convention. The report disclosed that Federation was introduced in nearly every state of the Union and that thirty-four national organizations and twenty institutions were enrolled as members.

The report gave detailed facts on conditions of the Church in Mexico. It disclosed that the first part of Federation's request 'that all Priests and Sisters marooned in Vera Cruz should be brought to the U. S.' was complied with at government expense. The second part of Federation's request 'that the U. S. government withhold its recognition of any government in Mexico that does not grant religious freedom' met with a different fate. When it was rumored that Carranza's government was to be recognized Federation, under date of October 4, 1915, sent to President Wilson the following telegram:

"The American Federation of Catholic Societies representing three million citizens urgently request again that no leader or faction be recognized in Mexico by this government unless absolute assurance is guaranteed of religious liberty and a complete cessation of further prosecution of Catholics and spoliation of Church property and Institutions."

Similar telegrams of protest were sent to Washington by all national organizations and state and county Federations affiliated with the A. F. of C. S. Hundreds of telegrams and marked editorials of Catholic papers were sent to the White House and State Department. These protests were further seconded by telegrams from most of the Bishops of the country, to whom the Federation has appealed. But despite all these dignified protests the arch-persecutor of the Church in Mexico, Carranza, received recognition, "and," says the report of the National Secretary, "the voice of the eighteen million Catholics was like one crying in the wilderness."

Under date of October 20, 1915, the National Secretary wrote to Hon. Robert Lansing of the State Department as follows: Honorable Sir: "The A. F. of C. S. would be pleased to receive from you a copy of the agreement entered into between the administration and General Carranza which caused his recognition. We are particularly interested in that part of the agreement affecting the religious freedom to be granted the Church in Mexico."

On October 23, 1915, a response was received stating in substance, that prior to the recognition of the *de facto* government, of which General Carranza is the chief executive, the Pan American conferees who had this matter under consideration, gave careful consideration to the statements furnished by those representing the contending factions in Mexico, in order to arrive at a clearer understanding of the conditions existing in that country and of the relative capabilities of the contending factions to reestablish law and order. The letter further stated that Mr. Aliseo Arredondo, the Washington representative of Carranza, gave assurance "that the constitutional government of Mexico will respect everybody's life, property and religious beliefs."

Mr. J. Tumulty, Secretary to the President of the U. S., also rose in defense of the administration's Mexican policy. Rev. H. Tierney, S. J., Chairman of Federation's Special Mexican Committee, in answering Mr. Tumulty's letter said: "This promise of Carranza becomes a tactical mistake in view of the fact that the spoliation of convents and churches and the persecution of priests and sisters have been merrily going on. Not since the French Revolution has the world witnessed such an orgy of murder, lust and general defiance of rights, human and divine."

The Secretary's report on Motion Pictures disclosed that an effort is being made to have Federal Censorship of Motion pictures introduced and that several Protestant church organizations and national picture corporations are in favor of such a measure.

Protests were filed against certain burlesque shows and objectionable magazines.

In the case of Tom Watson, editor of *Watson's Magazine,* which published obscene matter that caused the arrest of the editor, the report stated that Watson was arrested and accused Federation for his arrest. His case was first set for March 17, 1914. On the eve of the trial Judge Speer disqualified. Later the case came up before Judge Foster, who quashed the indictment on the ground that only excerpts of the article claimed to be offensive and obscene had been introduced. When the case came up again in November the jury failed to agree and the case ended in a mistrial.

On request of Federation *McClure's Magazine* discontinued the advertisement of an objectionable book. The H. W. Gossard Co. of Chicago discontinued an objectionable advertisement of their wares. Good Friday observance was encouraged by several County Federations. Birth control lectures were denied public halls on complaint of Federation. Laymen's retreats were encouraged. The Boston Federation organized a lecture bureau composed of seventy-five capable lecturers on Catholic subjects.

Mr. Edward Feeney, K. S. G., Chairman of the Committee on Public Morals, gave an interesting report. Then followed the reports of various State and County Federations.

SOCIAL SERVICE MASS MEETING

The Social Service Department of Federation held a mass meeting at Carnegie Hall on Monday evening, August 21, 1916. Rt. Rev. P. J. Muldoon, D. D., Bishop of Rockford, Chairman of Federation Social Service Department, presided and Rev. P. E. Dietz, Social Service Secretary, acted as secretary.

The "Minimum Wage" was the general subject of an elaborate Social Service symposium. The conference was one of the outstanding features of the convention. Three thousand five hundred people attended. The speakers were Bishop Muldoon; Prof. James E. Hagerty, Ph. D., of the Ohio State University; Rev. Dr. John A. Ryan of the Catholic University, and Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara of the Oregon State Commission on the Minimum Wage.

Bishop Muldoon spoke briefly on the spread and interest in active Social Service among Catholic people, urging the Federation delegates to do their part in the spread of the proper spirit of co-operation and willingness to help others.

Prof. Hagerty gave some interesting statistics on the wages paid in this country, bringing out the fact that two-thirds of the workers, male and female, in this country are paid less than what is termed a "living wage," the male workers earning less than fifteen dollars a week, and the female workers less than eight dollars a week. "Is not some remedy needed for this condition?" said the speaker.

Rev. Dr. Ryan in his address scored the Catholics of the U. S. for their sloth in reference to active Social Work. He pointed out that the minimum wage law has been put into effect in eleven states, yet Catholics have had little part in making it a fact anywhere. He also referred to the passage by the Senate of the Child Labor Law, an accomplishment which he attributed to the zealous work of the National Child Labor Committee. On this committee, nationwide in scope, there are only two Catholics, Cardinal Gibbons and Charles J. Bonaparte. He said that it was high time that we give support to real movements that accomplish something.

Rev. Dr. E. O'Hara of Oregon reviewed the successful operation of the Minimum Wage legislation in his State, where he was mainly responsible for its enactment. He discussed the matter from the standpoint of the employer and of the employees. He demolished the arguments against it and built up a strong case in favor of the practice of forcing employers to pay to all employees not less than a certain stated amount of money, said amount being whatever is determined as necessary for the maintenance of a decent standard of living.

Rev. Peter E. Dietz, Secretary of the Social Service Commission, made a report disclosing that his department has issued during the past 7,917 news letters for the Catholic and other publications including the Labor Press; that his department had published a large stock of pamphlets on Social Service matter for general circulation, and that 1,229 letters have gone out to important centres bearing on Social Service work and several thousand of other communications. The report reviewed the Catholic Fraternal Congress Conference organized at the Baltimore Convention and its subsequent session at the Toledo, Ohio, convention and Federation's participation in the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

TUESDAY'S SESSIONS

Tuesday's session was opened with prayer by Bishop McFaul. The first business in order was the continuation of the reports of the various State, County and National organizations affiliated with Federation. These were interspersed by other addresses. Rt. Rev. Joseph Conroy, Bishop of Ogdensburg, N. Y., spoke on the "Duties of Catholics as Citizens" and Mr. Nicholas Gonner, K. S. G., of Dubuque, spoke on the "Work of the Central Verein."

Mr. Michael J. Slattery, President of the Catholic Young Men's National Union, gave a resumé of the activities of his society. (Mr. Slattery later became the Executive Secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.) Among other things he said: "We see in Federation the real means to successfully husband all the forces of the Catholic laity. When properly welded together, the individual links will be greatly strengthened and the chain itself so strongly forged that no power in this country will be forceful enough to break it."

FATHER NOLL SPEAKS

Rev. John F. Noll, Editor of "Our Sunday Visitor" (now Bishop Noll of Ft. Wayne, Ind.), addressed the delegates. He said in part: "The National Secretary, Mr. Anthony Matre, in his report quotes Cardinal Gibbons as having said 'that if the members of the hierarchy and the clergy and the laity are united there is no such thing as fail.' The main consideration is to devise ways and means to make the members of the Catholic hierarchy and clergy and laity one. I would like to see a congress or a conclave of the Catholic bishops of this country lasting for one week and let them get acquainted with the needs of the country which are of a national scope. I am sure many bishops would like to tell the rest some of the special things they know. Another means by which Federation work might be brought to the attention of the hierarchy is through diocesan retreats for the clergy." Father Noll then gave an illuminating account of bigotry rampant in this country. He said that bigotry is different in the North from what it is in the South. In the South it is not only more rabid, but it is ignorant. In Georgia Thomas Watson is the sage. Say what you will about his waning influence, it is not true. Today, Tom Watson has a voice which three-fourths of the people in Georgia listen to and he can influence them any way he wants to. There are sincere and insincere bigots. Those from the South are for the most part sincere. Those who are leaders of bigotry in the North are mostly insincere. "Our Sunday Visitor" has done an immeasurable amount of good, among sincere bigots. We have converted lots of them and many of them who were ardent Socialists and "Menace" propagandists are now boosters for us. The paper that goes into the home fifty-two times a year, and that carries a message, will be listened to because of its Kindliness, because, as its subtitle suggests, it tends to "harmonize" and people of different faiths and races give it a respectful hearing. Anti-Catholic papers are losing their big circulation, but that does not mean that bigotry has subsided. There are more anti-Catholic organizations today working harder than there were ever in the history of this country."

Other addresses were made by Mr. John S. Sumner, Secretary of the New York Society for the Prevention of Vice; Mr. Francis E. Slattery of Boston; Rt. Rev. Father Clune, Vicar General of the Diocese of Syracuse, N. Y.; Mr. John N. Scelsa, President of the Italian Club of New York; Prof. Kieran of Hunter College; Rev. Edward F. Garesché, S. J., on the Y. M. C. A. and the Catholic Young Man; Rev. B. Rosinski of Toledo, Ohio. Col. P. H. Callahan of Louisville, Ky., Mr. Joseph T. Bergman of Massachusetts; Mr. John Paul Chew, President of Catholic Press Association.

At the afternoon session Archbishop S. G. Messmer announced that there would be a special meeting at Cathedral Hall in the evening for ladies interested in the formation of a National Ladies' Association or League.

Rt. Rev. Joseph Schrembs, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, read the resolutions, which were discussed and finally adopted. The resolutions covered the following matters: "Preamble and Declaration of Principles of the American Federation of Catholic Societies"; "Our Holy Father"; "The Principle of Catholic Education"; "Immoral Literature, Pictures, Films, etc."; "Social Service"; "Negroes"; "The Catholic Press"; "Newspapers to Soldiers"; "The Theatre and Drama"; "Catholic Theatre Movement"; "White List of Plays"; "Sanctification of Sunday"; "Divorce"; "Industrial Relations"; "Larger Social Aspect"; "Night Classes"; "Freedom of Education"; "Deaf and Blind"; "World Peace"; "Catholic Indians"; "Extension of Federation"; "Mexico."

In its resolution on Mexico the Federation stated among other things: "What the Catholics in the United States ask in connection with Mexico is that whatever form of government be established in Mexico with the aid and the friendship of our own country, it shall grant and guarantee such liberty of conscience and freedom of worship as exist in our United States and are denied in Mexico by unjust laws."

WEDNESDAY SESSIONS

The Committee on Constitution, with Mr. Joseph H. Fargis of New York, chairman, and the Committee on Organization, with Rev. Joseph B. Brock of Erie, Pa., chairman, made their reports recommending to operate Federation on diocesan lines instead of state and county lines in the future—the diocese should be the unit. This flaw had been advocated at the Toledo Convention and after much debate was adopted. The new plan was not to disturb the national organization and institutions affiliated with Federation. The recommendation also carried with it a change of name from American Federation of Catholic Societies" to "The Catholic Federation of the United States." The report of the Auditing Committee reported a cash balance of $2,190.67.

The following officers were elected:

Advisory Board, Cardinal Gibbons, Cardinal O'Connell, Cardinal Farley, Archbishop Messmer, Archbishop Blenk, Archbishop Glennon, Bishop McFaul, Bishop Canevin, Bishop Keiley, Bishop Schrembs, Bishop Muldoon, Bishop Carroll of Helena, Mont., Bishop Donahue, Bishop O'Donaghue, Bishop D. J. O'Connell.

Chairmen of National Committees: Rt. Rev. P. J. Muldoon of Rockford, Ill., "Social Service"; Rt. Rev. Joseph Schrembs of Toledo, O., "Resolutions"; Hon. Julius A. Coller of Shakopee, Minn., "Law"; Dr. Felix Gandin of New Orleans, La., "Finance"; Edward Feeney, K. S. G., "Public Morals"; Chas. F. Daly of Boston, Mass., "Press"; Rev. John F. Noll of Huntington, Ind., "Ways and Means."

National Officers: President, Hon. John Whalen, LL. D., of New York; Vice Presidents, Thomas F. Flynn of Chicago, Ill.; J. A. Coller of Shakopee, Minn.; Joseph Frey, K. S. G., of New York; J. J. Hynes of Buffalo,

N. Y.; Joseph McLaughlin of Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. Peter Ganz of Louisville, Ky.; Secretary, Anthony Matre, K. S. G., of Chicago, Ill.; Treasurer, Casper H. Schulte of Detroit, Mich.; Marshall, Anthony Kuhn of Victoria, Kans.

Bishop McFaul installed the officers, after which adjournment followed to convene in 1917 at Kansas City, Mo., on the invitation of Hon. Geo. Reinhardt of Kansas City, Mo.

ANTHONY MATRE, K. S. G.
Chicago, Ill. National Secretary.

SIXTEENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

The sixteenth national convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies took place in Kansas City, Missouri, August 26-29, 1917, with Bishop Lillis of Kansas City, Missouri, as sponsor. The convention opened with pontifical high Mass, celebrated by His Excellency, Most Rev. John Bonzano, D. D., Apostolic Delegate, at the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception. The following prelates were in the sanctuary: Archbishops Glennon, Harty, Messmer, Moeller, Hanna, and Bishops Lillis, Burke, Meerschaert, Allen, Cunningham, Muldoon, Van de Ven, Morris, Shaw, Busch, Ward, Schrembs, Gunn, Lynch, Hennessey, Althoff, Curley, and Glass.

Prominent members of the Jesuit, Franciscan, Passionist, Dominican, Benedictine, Capuchin, and Paulist Orders, Monsignori and scores of diocesan priests were also present.

Archbishop Hanna of San Francisco, Cal., preached a most eloquent sermon. He said in part: ". . . I have spoken in behalf of human liberty, in behalf of democracy. I have spoken in behalf of enduring peace, and I hold that only in the Catholic Church can man find the teachings which will lay deep the foundations of the rule of the people; only in the Catholic Church will men find this discipline and the virtue which can make a democracy lasting. I hold, too, that only in the great moral sanctions of the Church is there hope of abiding peace; only in the ways of the Church can be verified the conditions that are necessary to establish and to maintain permanent tranquillity in our troubled world.

"We meet here in Kansas City the representatives of men banded together for the furtherance of the cause of Jesus Christ. We meet here under the leadership of the men whom the Holy Ghost has set apart to rule the Church of God. We meet at a time when the future of world civilization is in the balance and when we as Catholics have a great task to perform, when we as Catholics have the mightiest task given us adown the ages.

". . . The age in which we live is an age of vastest organization, and never before did men feel that in closest union there is greatest strength. Under your new diocesan plan of Federation you will gather your millions into serried array until they present to the world the imposing spectacle of a Catholicity united as it was never united before. . . . You will make every man your brother in Jesus Christ and in the mighty union of the children of earth, 'neath the banner of the Man-God, you will bring in the reign of love, you will begin the reign of peace."

A great mass meeting was held in the Kansas City Convention Hall on Sunday evening, August 26, 1917. Mr. George Reinhardt, President of the Kansas City Federation, welcomed the delegates and introduced Bishop Lillis, who said: "We have come together for the one purpose to further Catholic energies and Catholic activities that our country and our religion might profit thereby. . . ."

Bishop Lillis then introduced Hon. Albert I. Beach, who extended the welcome of the city government, saying: "Humanity at large owes a very deep debt of gratitude to His Holiness, Pope Benedict XV, and to the Catholic Church, by reason of the recent effort of His Holiness to establish a world-wide peace."

Bishop Lillis next introduced His Grace Archbishop Glennon of St. Louis, stating that His Grace would preside over the meeting. Archbishop Glennon said in part: "I feel very much honored in being asked to preside over such a distinguished meeting which of all other meetings of the Federation of Catholic Societies must necessarily have a far-reaching influence over the entire population of this country. . . . There is and there will be no political unity among the Catholic people. In this regard the most independent citizens of this land of independence are the Catholics of the United States, free from political control which has never been exercised, nor sought by their superiors, and recognizing as the basic principle of their Catholic lives that in politics they are free. . . . But, my friends, there are other subjects that are not political, such as the home and its happiness; the marriage bond and its stability; the children and their training; the conscience and its freedom; laws and their justice; these great questions which are called moral or social questions, which affect the daily life, the intimate domestic life of our people, are subjects which form the platform of the Federation of Catholic Societies. These subjects demand not alone the attention and interest of the Catholic people, but of all right-minded citizens as well. We have a right to unite in the interest of the common weal. We have a right to unite to protect home and family, justice and truth. We have a right to guard these homes and be united under guardianship that they may be worthy of God's attention. The forces of evil have their pacts and federations—surely the forces that make for righteousness have a right to come together to discuss how righteousness may be promoted and how the people may be protected. . . . This is the immediate purpose of the Federation, and in the achievements thereof we wish it the largest measure of prosperity."

Archbishop Glennon then introduced His Excellency, John Bonzano, Apostolic Delegate (later Cardinal Bonzano and Legate to the Chicago Eucharistic Congress), who spoke in part as follows: "History teaches us that the greatest empires of the world have fallen, not through the efforts of external enemies, but rather from internal enemies. The ancient Romans, after having withstood loyally the attacks of the enemies, fell under the corruption which undermined society to the very basis in their land at the time. . . . Dear delegates, you are called upon to consider and to find means to combat the social evils, the moral evils—the evils which arise from the frequent unrest between capital and labor, the evil of divorce, of race suicide, immoral theatres, irreligious literature, etc. I know of the success achieved by this Federation in the past years, but I am hopeful that this Federation will do even greater things than in the past."

The next speaker at the mass meeting was Bishop Schrembs of Cleveland, chairman of Lay Activities of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. The bishop's subject was, "Federation." He traced the history of Federation back to its inception in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1901, and paid a loving tribute to the founders of the movement, Bishop J. A. McFaul of Trenton, N. J., and Archbishop Messmer of Milwaukee. He said in part: "Federation works for the diffusion of Christian principles in the all-important field of education of the youth; it reaches out into the field of human suffering in every form, blessing it with the healing principles of Christian charity. Federation faces the great social and economic questions of the time; it addresses itself to the great agencies that make for the formation of public opinion, public conscience, public morality, the press and the stage. . . . Year after year Federation has voiced in clarion tones the attitude of the Church towards divorce, public immorality, economic injustice, vindicated the rights of Catholics against unlawful interference, and the Catholic Indian, the Catholic Negro, the denizen of the far-off Philippines, the inhabitant of crucified Mexico, all lend their voices to the gladsome song of jubilation which celebrates the glory of Federation. . . ."

The next speaker was Hon. Judge M. Wade, who spoke eloquently on the subject, "The Church and the Republic." He was followed by a brief address by Hon. John Whalen of New York, President of Federation.

The business sessions of the Convention were opened Monday, August 27, by President John Whalen. Archbishop Messmer was called upon for a few remarks. His Grace spoke feelingly of Bishop James A. McFaul, who had died shortly after the New York convention. His Grace said: "I think it is due to the memory of our beloved Bishop McFaul that I should state that *he,* not I, was the father of Federation. It was Bishop McFaul alone among the bishops of the country who started Federation. It was only after he had started the movement that I became associated with him. I always greatly esteemed and respected Bishop McFaul as a most solid and thorough-going character."

The Archbishop then stated that the keynote of the present convention should be the beautiful expression of St. Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits: *"To think as the Church thinks; to feel as the Church feels, and to speak as the Church speaks."*

Archbishop Messmer then stated: "You all know that we have been trying to get a formal recognition of Federation on the part of the Archbishops of the United States. This was achieved last April, when the Archbishops, in meeting assembled in Washington, D. C., gave their formal approval of the American Federation of Catholic Societies as a genuine, true and loyal Catholic lay organization of the U. S. and appointed a commission to have general supervision over the work of the Federation. This commission is merely a supervisory board of the Archbishops for the safe guidance of Federation so that Federation would never do anything and never say anything that would not be in perfect accord with the teachings of our Holy Church."

The first business was the naming of the committee on Credentials, with Mr. J. W. Heckenkamp, Jr., of Quincy, Ill., as chairman. About four hundred accredited delegates from nearly all states in the Union were in attendance. Porto Rico and the Canal Zone were also represented. President John Whalen gave his annual report, which was followed by the report of National Secretary Anthony Matre, disclosing the activities in which the Federation was engaged during the year.

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

The report of the National Secretary disclosed that in the future all county Federations will be merged with the diocesan Federations as per plans approved at the last convention and approved by the hierarchy.

The report gave an account of Federation's activities in the Mexican question and its influence in saving the lives of two Mexican bishops who had been reported to be in grave danger by Rev. Richard Tierney, S. J., chairman of Federation's Mexican Commission. Bishop McFaul took up the matter with the State Department at Washington and received the following announcement of assurance: "Department representatives of Mexico City and Queretaro were telegraphically instructed to use every possible good office in the interest of churchmen mentioned in your telegram."

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING, Secretary.

A letter from Cardinal Gasparri, Secretary to His Holiness, Pope Benedict XV, was read as follows: "The spirit of Catholic zeal and paternal charity, which animated Federation deliberations upon Mexico, has given to His Holiness very great joy."

Federation's crusade on immorality, displaying of indecent posters, indecent plays, dances, burlesque, etc., was received in the report. "Too much credit," says the report of the Society for the Suppression of Vice of New York (43rd Annual Report), "cannot be accorded for sincere aid in accomplishing many beneficial results, to the Federation of Catholic Socities. For this support we are extremely thankful."

A complaint was registered with the American Red Cross for the publication in its magazine of a poem by Rudyard Kipling which was offensive to Catholics and the Pope. The *Red Cross Magazine* published an apology. When a report made the rounds of the press that Catholic Sisters were not eligible to membership in the Red Cross, and that their services were not required because of the wearing of their religious garb, Federation dispatched a communication to the National Red Cross headquarters and was informed that "while all lay nurses selected must wear the uniform prescribed by the Red Cross, this does not apply to the Sisterhoods, who should be assigned to duty without any restriction with regard to uniform."

The National Secretary's report reviewed Federation's activities with regard to a proposed Catholic Y. M. C. A.; securing a full quota of Catholic Army Chaplins; ban on seditious papers and magazines, including Watson's Magazine, which was notorious for slandering Catholic priests and sisterhoods; motion picture censorship, and Good Friday observance.

Deaths of noted Federation leaders were the following: Dr. Peter Ganz of Louisville, National Vice President, died Dec. 23, 1916; Mr. Chas.

E. Royer of Erie, Pa., designer of Federation's emblem, died March 28, 1917; Most Rev. J. H. Blenk, D. D., of New Orleans, La., member of the Advisory Board, died April 20, 1917; Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul, D. D., "Father of the American Federation of Catholic Societies," died June 16, 1917; Mr. Thomas B. Minahan of Seattle, Wash., first National President of the Federation, died August 10, 1917.

The Secretary's report concluded with a letter received from Cardinal Gasparri acknowledging the reception of Federation's resolutions adopted at the New York convention, which were sent to the Holy Father. Cardinal Gasparri's letter closed with the following words: "In token of the Holy Father's special affection for all the officers and members of your *very well* deserving Federation, His Holiness imparts to you all His Paternal and Apostolic Blessing."

Rt. Rev. M. J. Splaine, D. D., of Boston, presented to the convention an important message from Cardinal O'Connell, member of the Advisory Board. Monsignor Splaine spoke of the constant interest and careful personal attention that his Eminence has given to the work of Catholic Federation. In the archdiocese of Boston the work of Catholic Federation is of a high educational character. . . . "The sole single purpose of Federation is to express in a clear and unmistakable voice, speaking in the name of all Catholic societies, the truth of our position. It is an educational movement to explain the Church's teachings on all great problems and to enunciate the Church's ideals in matters that concern the common good."

Mr. Whalen then presented a message from Cardinal Farley of New York, in which His Eminence said: "The Federation has fulfilled in a great measure its purpose to unite the great Catholic body of the United States and to harmonize and direct the activities of the various organizations of which it is composed. I believe the Federation is destined to develop and expand until its most desirable aim of perfect consolidation is realized."

Very Rev. Ignatius Smith, O. P., National Director of the Holy Name Society of the U. S., addressed the delegates on the work of the Holy Name Society and promised full co-operation with the Federation movement.

The next speaker was Rev. Father Powers, Chancellor of the Diocese of Trenton, N. J., and secretary of Bishop McFaul. Father Powers presented a "Resolution on the Death of Bishop McFaul" to the convention, calling him "The Father of the Catholic Federation," which was adopted with a rising vote.

Monsignor Splaine made a report on the newly organized National Catholic War Council which had been formed in Washington, D. C., August 11, 1917, on the invitation of the three American Cardinals, for the purpose of one specific work, war work, "and when the cause that called that Commission into existence is over, the Commission will automatically cease." Monsignor Splaine pointed out the great necessity of such a special commission during this time of war, which would act as a big clearing house, directly under the hierarchy, for all kinds of war and welfare work. Monsignor Splaine said: "When the National Catholic War Council met in Washington a few days ago it appointed three of us to make a report to the Federation convention and ask for co-operation. In fact, at the meeting in Washington nearly every one there was also a member of the Federation and there is no antagonism to Federation, no usurping of the rights of Federation. . . . We made our report to the Executive Board of Federation yesterday and a special resolution was adopted which will be presented to the convention for ratification." The resolution presented was as follows: "Resolved that we cordially endorse and pledge our assistance in carrying out the program of the National Catholic War Council and direct the President of Federation to appoint a special committee from the Federation to co-operate with the National Catholic War Council and the Knights of Columbus."

In this connection President John Whalen read a letter addressed to him by Rev. John J. Burke, C. S. P., outlining some of the work which the N. C. W. C. proposed to do for the spiritual welfare of our Catholic young men who are enlisting in our country's service. Father Burke's letter concluded as follows: "I congratulate the convention on the good work of Catholic Federation and I know it will approve in convention at Kansas City what its delegates approved at Washington, D. C. In the hour of Catholic need they will be the leaders of Catholic unity." Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JOHN J. BURKE, C. S. P.

The following committee was appointed by Federation to serve on the National Catholic War Council: Rt. Rev. Joseph Schrembs, D. D., of Cleveland, Ohio; Rt. Rev. Peter Muldoon, D. D., of Rockford, Ill.; Rt. Rev. Monsignor M. J. Lavelle of New York; Rt. Rev. M. J. Splaine of Boston, Mass.; Charles I. Denechaud, K. S. G., of New Orleans, La.; and Thomas P. Flynn of Chicago, Ill.

During the Monday afternoon session Mr. John Paul Chew, Editor of the *Catholic Church Progress* of St. Louis, Mo., read the Report of the National Committee on Public Morals. Rev. Philip Gordon, Indian priest, and Chief Shooting Hawk of the Sioux tribe addressed the convention on Catholic Indian Affairs. Report was also made on the Committee on Social Service by Rev. Peter Dietz. The latter outlined an elaborate plan of future Social Service activities.

Prior to the opening of Tuesday's proceedings, a Pontifical Requiem was celebrated by Bishop Lillis for the souls of Bishop McFaul and Archbishop Blenk and all the deceased members of the Federation.

Bishop Joseph Busch of St. Cloud, Minn., opened the business session with prayer. Anthony Matre, National Secretary, read a number of telegrams and messages of greetings to the convention. One telegram came from Rev. John J. Wynne, S. J., of New York which read as follows: "Six thousand pilgrims on the site of martyrdom of Father Isaac Jogues [now St. Isaac Jogues, canonized in Rome, June 29, 1930] wish God-speed to Federation and hope that its deliberations may promote peace as recommended by Pope Benedict XV."

The Committee of Organization made its report and presented the new "Diocesan Plan" which was approved at the New York convention. This committee was composed of Bishop J. McFaul, Trenton, N. J.; Edward Feeney, K. S. G., Brooklyn, N. Y.; F. W. Heckenkamp, Jr., Quincy, Ill.; Rev. Joseph B. Brock, Erie, Pa.; Anthony Matre, K. S. G., Chicago, Ill. The

National Secretary reported that forty-eight dioceses had approved the plan by letter, and forty-four dioceses had not yet reported, and a few others were not yet ready for Federation. Before the final adoption of the "Diocesan Plan," explanatory statements in its behalf were made by Bishop Schrembs, Mr. John Whalen, Mr. D. Duffy and Anthony Matre. The plan was then unanimously adopted. Mr. F. W. Heckenkamp, Jr., of Quincy, Ill., then made his report as Supervisor of the Federation's Bulletin.

At the afternoon session Bishop Schrembs, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, presented the resolutions of the convention. These covered the following matters: "Holy Father," "Catholic Loyalty," "World Peace," "Soldiers' Welfare and National Catholic War Council," "Holy Name Society in the Army and Navy," "Rights of Children in Divorce Cases," "Mexican Question," "Food Administration," "Indecent Pictorial Illustrations," "Social Science Service," "Divorce," "Education," "Holy Name Society and Federation," "Catholic Truth Guild," "Catholic Young Men's National Union," "Theatre and Drama," "Industrial Relations," "Night Schools," "Sanctification of Sunday," "Larger Social Assets," "Deaf and Blind," "Catholic Indians," "Catholic Press," "Justice to Negroes," "Sacredness of Marriage." After some debate the above named resolutions were adopted.

The second mass meeting of the convention took place at Convention Hall, Kansas City, Mo., Tuesday evening. It was held under the auspices of the Social Service Commission of the National Federation. Bishop Muldoon, chairman of the Federation's Social Service Commission, presided. The general subject was the Conservation of the Family. After an introductory address by Bishop Muldoon, the first speaker was Rev. John Webster Melody, D. D., of Chicago, who spoke on "The Immorality of the Propagandism for the Artificial Restriction of Human Birth." The second speaker was Hon. Quin O'Brien of Chicago, Ill., whose subject was "Divorce." The speaker said in part: "The Catholic Church has only one solution and remedy for the divorce evil, and that is God's remedy and Christ's solution, namely, abolish all divorce. It is a compromise with the devil and a league with hell. As long as you have divorce laws on the statute books, you legalize it and give an apparent sanction and make adultery permissible and respectable. As long as you have divorce laws you will have increasing prostitution, polygamy, infanticide and wrecked homes. As long as you have divorce laws, thousands of people who might otherwise be happy will multiply and magnify little domestic differences as pretexts to slip their yokes and shirk their vows, while they pull up a court decree as a blanket to cover their nakedness. As long as you have divorce laws you will encourage reckless marriages, legislate against women and children, sanction rebellion against God."

The third address was delivered by Rev. Michael I. Stritch, S. J., of St. Louis, Mo. His subject was "The Economic Menace to the Family and Other Evils." In his address Father Stritch lucidly answered the following questions: "Do morality and religion oblige you to have as many children as the physical capacity of yourself and wife enable you to have?" "Are the poor, the conscientious and the unfashionable right in never putting any barrier to the number of their children?" "Why do the so-called better classes set up limits to the size of the family to suit their own tastes or their economic conditions?"

Rev. Peter E. Dietz, Secretary of the Social Service Commission of the Federation, presented his report, which disclosed a wide-ranged Social Service activity inaugurated by Federation, and outlined a pretentious plan for future activities, advocating the "Social Survey" as the necessary diagnosis of Federation Social Service problems.

WEDNESDAY SESSIONS

Mr. Thos. F. Flynn, Vice President, presided. Archbishop Messmer spoke briefly on the Holy Father's Peace Plan. Mr. Joseph Frey, K. S. G., of New York, president of the German Central Verein, extended the greetings of the latter society, which had just completed its convention in St. Louis, Mo.

The Ways and Means Committee presented its report; also the Committee on Thanks.

Rev. Edward Garesché, S. J., spoke at length on Catholic Young Men's Organizations and on the Sodality of the B. V. M. He was followed by Bishop J. Schrembs. Mr. Benedict Elder of Louisville, Ky. (recently elected President of the Catholic Press Association) spoke on the Purity Congress which was to meet in Louisville, Ky. Mr. Charles Daly of Boston, Mass., submitted the report of the Press Committee.

The Auditing Committee presented the following report:

Balance Aug. 1, 1916	$2,190.67	
Receipts, General Fund	3,687.67	
Receipts, Bulletin Fund	1,381.65	
Total	$7,259.99	
Total disbursements for General, Bulletin, and Social Service Departments	6,358.60	
Balance, July 31, 1917		$901.39

The following National Officers were elected: President, Thomas P. Flynn, Chicago, Ill.; Vice Presidents, J. J. Hynes, Buffalo, N. Y.; I. J. Coller, Shakopee, Minn.; Joseph Frey, K. S. G., New York; George Reinhardt, Kansas City, Mo.; Joseph McLaughlin, Philadelphia, Pa.; E. J. Cooney, Louisville, Ky.; Secretary, Anthony Matre, K. S. G., Chicago, Ill.; Treasurer, C. H. Schulte, Detroit, Mich.; Marshal, Frank Reising, Kansas; Color Bearer, Chief Shooting Hawk, Yankton, South Dakota.

Executive Board: Archbishop Messmer; Bishop Lillis; Thomas J. Cannon, Chicago, Chairman; Nicholas Gonner, K. S. G., Dubuque, Ia.; Edward Feeney, K. S. G., Brooklyn, New York; Daniel Duffy, Pottsville, Pa.; C. W. Wallace, Columbus, O.; H. V. Cunningham, K. S. G., Boston, Mass.; Charles I. Denechaud, K. S. G., New Orleans, La.; F. W. Heckenkamp, Jr., Quincy, Ill.; F. W. Mansfield, Boston, Mass.; R. B. Ennis, Pittsburgh, Pa.; John Paul Chew, St. Louis, Mo.; John Whalen, New York.

The Advisory Board of eighteen members, including the three American Cardinals, four Archbishops and eleven Bishops was named.

Archbishop Messmer installed the officers, after which the convention adjourned *sine die* subject to the call of the Executive Board.

CONCLUSION

During the World War, Federation suspended its annual conventions, but its affiliated societies all assisted authorized agencies that were active in war work in support of the National Catholic War Council. The Federation leaders engaged in this work were Bishops Schrembs and Muldoon; Msgr. Splaine of Boston, Mass.; Msgr. J. M. Lavelle, Rector of St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City; Charles I. Denechaud of New Orleans, La., past president of the Federation. The latter had charge of the Paris activities of the Catholic War Council.

At the close of the war it was deemed advisable to continue the activities of the Catholic War Council under the name of National Catholic Welfare Council (which was later changed to National Catholic Welfare Conference), of which Bishop Schrembs became Chairman of Lay Action and Bishop Muldoon Chairman of Social Service Department with headquarters at Washington, D. C.

Federation activities extended over a period of eighteen years, 1901 to 1918. It operated under the direct supervision of members of the hierarchy. Countless are the good works performed by this great lay apostolate during its years of existence, and it was a labor of love for the undersigned, who had served as National Secretary since the inception of the movement, to record for posterity in *The Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* now known as MID-AMERICA, some of the work performed by Federation which was such a great factor in the Catholic life of the nation and which enjoyed the blessing and highest esteem of Cardinals and Bishops and Popes, Leo XIII, Pius X, and Benedict XV, under whose pontificates it flourished.

ANTHONY MATRE, K. S. G.

Chicago, Illinois. National Secretary.

(N. B. Owing to lack of space Book Reviews will be held over to the April issue.)

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MID - AMERICA
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MARQUETTE MEMORIALS

When the great American historian Bancroft said of Marquette, "the people of the West will build his monument," he never dreamed of the vast scale on which his prophecy would be fulfilled. The states of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois have contributed most toward the realization of this prophecy. This great movement toward immortalizing the name of Marquette began in 1877, when the body of Marquette was found in Pointe St. Ignace, just two hundred years after the precious remains were carried there by the Indians. It was this apparently accidental discovery that led to careful investigations, which resulted in a revival of affectionate interest in the great missionary and discoverer. Since that time Catholic and non-Catholic have lavished great honors upon the humble missionary and intrepid explorer. If we but trace the history of Marquette memorials, we shall realize how appreciation for the noble spirit and splendid achievement of this dauntless missionary has grown and spread throughout our country.*

The first memorial erected to Marquette was a simple stone monument surmounted by a cross to mark his final resting place.[1]

---

* Grateful acknowledgement is due to the Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., managing editor of MID-AMERICA, for valuable suggestions in the preparation of this article; to the Reverend Joseph Reiner, S. J., Dean of Loyola University, Chicago, Ill.; to the Reverend Louis Puhl, S. J., also of Loyola University; to the Reverend J. A. Garrity, S. J., Principal of Campion High School, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin; to the Reverend M. M. Hoffman of Columbia College, Dubuque, Iowa; to Sister Mary Magdelene, Superintendent of St. John's School of Nursing, Springfield, Ill.

Further acknowledgments are due to Mr. Edward P. Brennan of Chicago; Mr. E. J. Doyle of Chicago; Mr. G. J. Buck, President of the Ludington Chamber of Commerce; Mr. E. A. Miller, Assistant Cashier of the Ludington State Bank; Mrs. E. N. Heysett, Regent of the Ludington Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution; Mr. Henry L. Francis, Assistant to the Directors of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., and Mr. H. H. Niemeyer, Mayor of Portage, Wisconsin.

[1] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 21:464.

It may be seen today at Pointe St. Ignace and the Latin inscription upon it reads in translation:

IN MEMORY OF
FATHER JACQUES MARQUETTE, S. J.
WHO DIED MAY 18, 1675, AGED 38 YEARS
AND WAS BURIED IN THIS GRAVE A. D. 1677.
REQUIESCAT IN PACE
THIS STONE WAS ERECTED BY THE INHABITANTS
OF THE TOWN OF ST. IGNACE
A. D. 1882

The *Historical Bulletin* (St. Louis University) of March, 1929, set before its readers the following inscription, which apparently one time marked the grave of Marquette at St. Ignace, Michigan. It is signed "Dablon, 15 Nov. 1679," and was presumably composed by that Jesuit Father, who was Marquette's superior. This inscription was published for the first time in the issue named of the *Historical Bulletin,* having been shortly before brought to light in a manuscript collection in Europe. The text has its significance for students of Marquette's life as showing that it was his personal virtue and missionary zeal and not his geographical discoveries which chiefly impressed his contemporaries. The English translation (the original is in Latin) reads:

> "HERE AWAITS A BLESSED RESURRECTION THE BODY OF FATHER JAMES MARQUETTE, WHO, AFTER IMITATING THE MIGHTY XAVIER IN LIFE, IMITATED HIM ALSO IN DEATH, WHICH HE MET MOST HOLILY IN THE DEPTH OF THE FORESTS, SPENT WITH MEASURELESS LABORS, AND BEREFT OF EVERY HUMAN AID, AS HE HAD ARDENTLY WISHED."

In 1884 Bela Hubbard, a wealthy and patriotic citizen of Detroit, had a statue of Marquette placed in a suitable niche in the facade of the City Hall, Detroit, Michigan.[2]

Through the untiring efforts of Col. John L. Mitchell of Milwaukee a joint resolution was passed by Congress May 18, 1892, giving Marquette a place among the American statesmen in the Hall of Fame, in Washington, D. C., as Wisconsin's tribute to one of its illustrious sons.[3] There was some delay in the acceptance of the statue but "today the marble figure of Father Marquette, in his cassock and cloak with his beads and his crucifix in his belt, stands beneath the great dome, by far the most artistic in its conception and execution of all the group of notables of the nation."[4] The inscription on the base reads:

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[2] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 21:464.

WISCONSIN'S TRIBUTE
JAMES MARQUETTE, S. J.
WHO WITH LOUIS JOLIET
DISCOVERED THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER
AT PRAIRIE du CHIEN, WISCONSIN
JUNE 17, 1673

The first monument erected to Marquette in the state of Illinois was at Summit, in 1895. Through the courtesy of Mr. Edward P. Brennan of Chicago, the following record of the inscription on the original tablet, placed on the mound of boulders, was obtained:

FATHER MARQUETTE
LANDED HERE 1675

On March 31, 1675, Father Marquette was flooded out from his winter quarters at Robey Street, Chicago, and the next day camped at this point which is located by a comparison of his Journal with the original engineers' levels and surveys of the country.

This monument constructed of boulders brought by the glaciers from the Lake Superior regions and deposited in this valley, having traversed the route followed later by Marquette.

ERECTED BY
CHICAGO AND ALTON RAILROAD,
AUGUST, 1895
SUMMIT, COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS

This tablet, however, had been stolen. A Mr. Sommerville replaced it by a new one, but at that time he was unable to find a record of the original inscription. Therefore, the inscription on the present tablet reads:

FATHER MARQUETTE
LANDED HERE 1675

This monument is constructed of boulders brought by the glaciers from Lake Superior region and deposited in this valley, having traversed the route later followed by the earlier French explorers, La Salle, Joliet and Marquette.

---

[3] *Congressional Records,* 52 Congress, 1st Session.

[4] Thomas J. Campbell, *Pioneer Priests of North America,* 1642-1710, 3:183.

ERECTED BY
CHICAGO AND ALTON RAILROAD
AUGUST, 1895
SUMMIT, COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS

When the state of Wisconsin placed the marble statue of Father Marquette in the rotunda of the Capitol, Mr. A. E. Archambeau of Marquette, Michigan, suggested that it would be fitting to have a bronze replica made for that city. Through the efforts of Peter White a statue of the great missionary was unveiled in the city square, July 15, 1895,[5] with appropriate ceremonies, Hon. Don M. Dickson making the principal speech.

The place where Marquette and Joliet crossed the Wisconsin Portage, at the present site of the city of Portage,[6] on their triumphal discovery of the "Father of Waters" was appropriately marked in 1905 by a stone monument bearing the inscription:

THIS TABLET MARKS THE
PLACE NEAR WHICH
JACQUES MARQUETTE
AND
LOUIS JOLIET
ENTERED THE WISCONSIN RIVER
JUNE 14, 1673

ERECTED BY
WAU-BUN CHAPTER D. A. R. 1905

The year 1905 saw the erection of another memorial, this one being on Perrin's Ledge, two miles north of Kampville, Calhoun County, Illinois.[7] The dedication reads:

TO
MARQUETTE, JOLIET
AND THEIR FIVE COMPANIONS
DISCOVERERS OF THE ILLINOIS
1673

Mackinac Island honored its great missionary by dedicating on September 1, 1909, a Marquette statue in his honor. The statue, which is a copy of the heroic-sized statue in Statuary Hall, is in the center of Marquette Park, at the foot of Fort Mackinac.[8]

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[5] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 30:621.

[6] Louise P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest,* 1634-1699, p. 235.

[7] *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* 20:256.

[8] Edwin O. Wood, *Historic Mackinac,* 1:39.

The following year another stately Marquette statue, surmounting a great Corinthian column, was dedicated on the campus of St. Mary's Academy, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. The base of the monument has the following inscription:

REV. JAMES MARQUETTE, S. J.
WHO DISCOVERED THE
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
AT
PRAIRIE du CHIEN, WISCONSIN
JUNE 17, 1673

THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED
WITH
THE SOLICITED CONTRIBUTIONS
OF GENEROUS CITIZENS
BY
THE BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS
OF PRAIRIE du CHIEN, WISCONSIN
A. D. 1910

In 1921 a boulder, a granite rock standing about five feet high, was placed on the bank overlooking Père Marquette lake in Buttersville, Michigan, to commemorate the landing and death of Père Marquette. The inscription on the bronze plate is:[9]

THIS BOULDER
MARKS THE TRADITIONAL LOCATION
OF THE DEATH OF PERE MARQUETTE
REVERED AND LOVED BY THE REDMEN
JAMES MARQUETTE, S. J.
NOTED FRENCH MISSIONARY AND
EXPLORER
THE FIRST WHITE MAN TO REACH
THESE SHORES
1637-1675
TRIBUTE OF LUDINGTON CHAPTER
DAUGHTERS OF AMERICAN REVOLUTION
1921

A few years after the erection of this memorial, the history department of Marquette University made an exhaustive survey of Father Marquette's life, explorations and death, and as a result determined the exact spot of Father Marquette's death at about a mile away from the traditional place marked by the boulder. The University raised money for the erection of a new memorial, but has not as yet succeeded in obtaining title to the ground where the memorial is to be placed. Nevertheless, a letter from the President of the Chamber of Commerce of Ludington, Michigan, states that the Ludington Exchange club had the new site surveyed and mapped and is co-operating to make it possible for the university to obtain a free title to the site. It is hoped this may be accomplished within a few months, so that the memorial may be erected this year.

---

[9] *Ludington Daily News,* August 26, 1921

Throughout the United States the honor in which Marquette is held is evidenced by the increasing number of memorials erected to his name. The expression of the people's reverence for this historic figure is rapidly assuming the proportions of a real "Marquette Movement." Since 1925 the state of Illinois alone erected six Marquette memorials, five of which are in Chicago.

On December 5, 1925, there was unveiled on the north end of the Michigan Boulevard bridge in Chicago a bronze tablet with the inscription:

IN HONOR OF LOUIS JOLIET AND PERE MARQUETTE
THE FIRST WHITE MEN TO PASS THROUGH THE CHICAGO RIVER,
SEPTEMBER, 1673
THIS TABLET IS PLACED HERE
ILLINOIS SOCIETY, COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
DECEMBER 5, 1925

The following year, 1926, a splendid bronze group of three figures, an Illinois Indian, Marquette and Jolliet, was erected on Marshall Boulevard, by the Art Institute of Chicago acting as trustee of the Ferguson Fund. The monument is the work of the distinguished sculptor, Herman A. McNeil. The base of the monument carries the legend:

ILLINOIS
JACQUES MARQUETTE
LOUIS JOLIET

In honor of these same great pioneers Mr. William Wrigley Jr., presented to the city of Chicago, in 1928, a magnificent pylon which was placed at the northwest corner of Michigan Avenue bridge. The pylon is made of Bedford stone and the inscription below the relief reads:

JOLIET, FATHER MARQUETTE, LA SALLE AND TONTI WILL LIVE IN AMERICAN HISTORY AS FEARLESS EXPLORERS WHO MADE THEIR WAY THROUGH THE GREAT LAKES AND ACROSS THIS WATER SHED TO THE MISSISSIPPI IN THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AND TYPIFY THE SPIRIT OF BRAVE ADVENTURE WHICH HAS ALWAYS BEEN FIRMLY PLANTED IN THE CHARACTER OF THE MIDDLE WEST.

September 1, 1929, Bishop James A. Griffin, D. D., of Springfield, Illinois, blessed a Marquette memorial at Grafton, Illinois. This monument marks the spot where Louis Jolliet, James Marquette, and their five companions entered Illinois in the summer of 1673 by the Illinois river, which meets the Mississippi at Grafton. The monument, the gift of Mr. H. H. Ferguson, bears the inscription:[10]

IN THE EARLY AUGUST OF 1673
MARQUETTE, JOLIET AND FIVE COMPANIONS
ENTERED ILLINOIS
DAWN HERALDS OF RELIGION, CIVIL GOVERNMENT
AND CONSECRATED LABOR
DEDICATED SEPT. 1, 1929
RT. REV. JAMES A. GRIFFIN, D. D.
BISHOP OF SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

On May 16, 1930, a monument to pay tribute to Marquette was unveiled by the Chicago Historical Society, at Harlem Avenue and 49th Street. The inscription on the tablet follows:

THE CHICAGO PORTAGE

THIS MARKS THE WEST END OF THE CARRYING OR CONNECTING PLACE UNITING THE WATERS OF THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER AND THE GREAT LAKES WITH THOSE OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, ITS TRIBUTARIES AND THE GULF OF MEXICO. THE EARLIEST FACTOR IN DETERMINING CHICAGO'S COMMERCIAL SUPREMACY. AN ARTERY OF TRAVEL USED BY THE ABORIGINES IN THEIR MIGRATIONS AND LATER BY JOLIET, MARQUETTE, LA SALLE, TONTI AND THE FUR TRADERS OF NEW FRANCE. AN EARLY STRATEGICAL POINT, IN THE WARS INCIDENT TO THE WINNING OF THE NORTHWEST FOR THE SETTLERS AND DISCOVERED BY JOLIET AND MARQUETTE IN 1673.

ERECTED BY THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN PURSUANCE OF A PLAN TO GIVE POSTERITY THE FACTS OF CHICAGO'S EARLY HISTORY. A. D. 1930.

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[10] *Mid-America,* January 1930, p. 268.

In October, 1930, an imposing monument of granite and stone was dedicated to commemorate Father Marquette's historic wintering on the site of Chicago. The monument marks one of the most sacred acres of the earth, where a frail missionary in fulfilling a pledge given to the Indians, labored to conquer a wilderness and by his writings, to build a nation. The memorial stands on the northern approach of the magnificent new bridge spanning the west fork of the south branch of the Chicago river at Damen Avenue.

A bronze tablet affixed to it portrays the first scene of Chicago's history, Father Marquette greeting the Indians. Another bronze tablet reads:

> JAMES MARQUETTE, FRENCH PRIEST, OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, ON HIS MISSION TO THE ILLINOIS INDIANS SPENT THE WINTER HERE OF 1674-1675.
>
> HIS JOURNAL BROUGHT FIRST TO THE WORLD'S ATTENTION THE ADVANTAGES OF CLIMATE, SOIL AND TRANSPORTATION IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY AND THE GREAT LAKES BASIN.
>
> "THIS MONUMENT ERECTED BY THE CITY OF CHICAGO, WM. HALE THOMPSON, MAYOR: MICHAEL J. FAHERTY, CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF LOCAL IMPROVEMENTS."

Architecture, likewise, has immortalized the name of Marquette. Over the doors of the main entrance of the Marquette Building on Adams and Dearborn streets, Chicago, are bronze reliefs, designed and executed by Mr. Herman A. McNeil, a faithful student of Indian characteristics, illustrating incidents in the life and of the death of Père Marquette. Copies of these reliefs are frequently found in American history texts.

In the first relief we see Marquette, Jolliet and their five companions launching their canoes on the headwaters of the Wisconsin river "to follow those waters . . . . which will henceforth lead us into strange lands."[11]

In the second, Marquette and Jolliet meet the attack of the Indians on the Mississippi, when "in vain I showed the calumet . . . . to explain that we had not come as enemies."[12]

In the third, Marquette arrives at the Chicago river, and "passing two leagues up the river we resolved to winter there . . . . being detained by my illness."[13]

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[11] Ralph Nursey, *The Legacy of Père Marquette,* Marquette Publishing Co., Chicago, Illinois, p. 8.

[12] *Ibid.,* p 12

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 14

In the last we see the burial of Marquette at St. Ignace. "The De Profundis was intoned . . . the body was then carried to the church."[14]

"A large space in the center of the building was sacrificed by the owners for the purpose of a memorial rotunda in honor of Marquette. With the help of artist, sculptor, architect and constructor they have succeeded in producing a monument worthy of the explorer. The most interesting features of the polygon rotunda are the panel decorations of glass mosaic and mother-of-pearl, on the face of the balcony, between the first and second floor. The glass mosaic work, from designs by Mr. J. A. Holzer, consists of three pictorial tablets, descriptive of leading events in the career of Marquette."[15] Copies of these mosaics are also found in American history texts.

The first mosaic portrays the departure of Marquette and Jolliet from St. Ignace on their first voyage to the Illinois. On a small border on top of the mosaic is inscribed the sentence from Marquette's Journal, "FIRMLY RESOLVED TO DO ALL AND SUFFER ALL FOR SO GLORIOUS AN ENTERPRISE."[16]

The second mosaic pictures the meeting with the Illinois, with the inscription, "THEY ANSWERED THAT THEY WERE ILLINOIS AND IN TOKEN OF PEACE PRESENTED THE PIPE TO SMOKE."[17]

The last commemorates the death of Marquette and this time the sentence is taken from Dablon's narrative, "TO DIE AS HE HAD ALWAYS ASKED . . . IN A WRETCHED CABIN AMID THE FOREST, DESTITUTE OF ALL HUMAN AID."[18]

Paintings, too, have preserved for us many incidents from the life of Marquette. There is a striking painting of the missionary and explorer by the Munich artist, Lamprecht, in the reception room of Marquette University. In 1892 William Gibbs conceived and executed one of the finest works extant in this field, "Father Marquette at St. Ignace in 1670." He spent much time in consulting historical accounts of Father Marquette and obtained his inspiration for the portrait of Marquette in the picture from a cut of a statue of the missionary executed by an artist in Montreal. After the painting was completed a certain Mr. William Spice removed it to St. Ignace. Mr. Agrell, of St.

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[14] *Ibid.,* p. 18.
[15] *Ibid.,* p. 27.
[16] *Ibid.,* p. 6.
[17] *Ibid.,* p. 10.
[18] *Ibid.,* p. 16.

Ignace, photographed it and sold thousands of such photographs to tourists. This design was adopted and used for one of the designs of postage stamps by the government, and later adopted by the State Pioneer Society of Michigan as a frontispiece to its thirty-second volume of records and transactions.[19]

Another painting of Marquette may be seen in the State Capitol at Springfield, Illinois. The walls of the interior of this building, designed to commemorate the hundreth anniversary of the admission of Illinois as a state, are decorated with scenes depicting events in Illinois history. Among the mural decorations on the first floor we find Marquette and Jolliet at an Indian Village on the Des Plaines river near Joliet.[20]

A large-scale mural decoration in the Elizabeth M. Cudahy Memorial Library of Loyola University, Chicago, honors Marquette.

> "The painting, by John W. Norton, Chicago, is conceived as a pictorial cartographical record of Jesuit missionary activity in the Great Lakes Region and Upper Mississippi Valley during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Latin legend at the lower left-hand corner reads in translation: "New Lands in North America explored and evangelized by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus." The background is suggested by Père Marquette's well-known holograph map, which is dealt with freely by the artist. Scenes and episodes in the pictorial map indicate Marquette at the Wisconsin-Mississippi junction, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, 1673; his arrival at the mouth of the Arkansas, the Lower Mississippi, 1673; his wintering on the site of modern Chicago, 1674-1675; and his Kaskaskia Mission on the Illinois River, 1675."[21]

There is a series of Marquette paintings in the rooms of the Joliet High School, Joliet, Illinois.

Other interesting memorials of Marquette are stained glass windows. The one in Memorial Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, has an interesting history. In 1891 at an informal meeting of a few members of the Class of 1875 of Harvard University, a suggestion that the Class undertake to provide an appropriate stained glass window for Memorial Hall was approved by those present.

The second space from the west end of the north side was secured, and in 1892 a committee of five was appointed to take charge of the design and construction of this window. The committee's choice of the subject fell upon La Salle and Marquette, in recognition of America's twofold debt to France, which is perhaps too little recognized, an obligation as well for pioneer work which gave us a large part of our present territory, as for powerful aid in the gaining of our independence. Memories of these two men could not but be vividly recalled in the year of the death of the famous historian of their time, a graduate of the College, Mr. Francis Parkman.[22]

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[19] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 30:304.

[20] *Illinois Blue Book,* 1925-1926, p. 396.

[21] From an explanation of the mural painting by G. J. Garraghan, S. J.

In 1895 the window was completed. It is composed of English and Venetian glass and is one of the most beautiful in Memorial Hall. In the right-hand panel, facing the observer, is the figure of La Salle, in the left-hand panel, that of Marquette, standing in striking relief against a brilliant background, raising a cross in his right hand. In the base appears the seal of the Society of Jesus. In the center of the irregular quatre-foil tracery, at the apex of the window, "1875" is inscribed.[23]

In 1928 a luminous mosaic window was placed in the Immaculate Conception Cathedral of Springfield, Illinois, to pay tribute to the great missionary. The motif of the windows on the south wall of the Cathedral is the Church's contribution towards America, and the development of Catholicism on this Western continent. The third window of this group shows the intrepid Father Marquette established at Chicago in the winter of 1674, on his return to preach to the Indians of the Middle West.[24] The windows are after designs by Thomas O'Shaughnessy of Chicago.

The Firmin Desloge Hospital of St. Louis University, now in course of erection, will have attached to it a Gothic chapel designed by Ferguson and Cram of Boston. The chapel will be featured by a series of twenty-four stained glass windows depicting scenes chiefly in Jesuit missionary history in Canada and the United States. Two units of the series will be Marquette subjects.

In Chicago where Marquette spent a memorable winter a simpler but none the less significant type of memorial was erected. In 1907 a cross of mahogany was placed at the foot of Robey Street telling the following story:[25]

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[22] Francis Parkman died November 8, 1893.

[23] Harvard College, Class of 1875, 1st-7th. Reports.

[24] *Diocesan Diamond Jubilee Booklet,* 1928, p. 51.

[25] William Atkinson, *Story of Chicago and National Development,* pp. 4-5.

> IN MEMORY OF FATHER MARQUETTE, S. J. AND LOUIS JOLIET OF NEW FRANCE (CANADA) FIRST WHITE EXPLORERS OF THE MISSISSIPPI AND ILLINOIS RIVERS AND LAKE MICHIGAN 1673, NAVIGATING 2,500 MILES IN CANOES IN 120 DAYS. IN CROSSING THE SITE OF CHICAGO JOLIET RECOMMENDED IT FOR ITS NATURAL ADVANTAGES AS A PLACE OF FIRST SETTLEMENT AND SUGGESTED A LAKE-TO-THE-GULF WATERWAY (See Jesuit Relations, Vol. 58, p. 105) BY CUTTING A CANAL THROUGH THE "PORTAGE" WEST OF HERE WHERE BEGINS THE CHICAGO DRAINAGE SHIP CANAL. WORK ON THIS CANAL BEGAN SEPTEMBER 3, 1893 AND IT RECEIVED THE FIRST WATER OF LAKE MICHIGAN, JANUARY 2, 1902. THIS REMARKABLE PROPHECY MADE 234 YEARS AGO IS NOW BEING FULFILLED. THE END OF ROBEY STREET IS THE HISTORIC "HIGH GROUND" WHERE MARQUETTE SPENT THE WINTER 1674-1675. "TO DO AND SUFFER EVERY-THING FOR SO GLORIOUS AN UNDERTAKING."
>
> "ERECTED SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 28, 1907, BY THE CITY OF CHICAGO AND CHICAGO ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE."

This memorial cross was maliciously destroyed but was later replaced by a new one erected by the Willey Lumber Company. This second cross in turn disappeared to make room for the new Damen Avenue Bridge with its splendid Marquette monument at the northern approach. (See *supra.*, p. 298.)

The name of Marquette will ever be venerated in America. As with other great men, numerous places have been named in his honor. There is a Marquette, town or village, in Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa. A county in the upper peninsula of Michigan, and one each in Wisconsin, Kansas, and Nebraska are called Marquette. Even an iron ore district in Michigan claims the distinction of being named after the great explorer. The river, on whose banks the missionary expired, was called Marquette. Shea in his book, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* says, "It was indeed long called Marquette River, but from recent maps the name seems to have been forgotten."[26] But from information obtained from Mr. G. J. Buck, President of the Chamber of Commerce, Ludington, Michigan, it seems that this is not the case. For, to the people of Ludington, the little lake and small river just south of the city are still known as the Marquette lake and Père Marquette river. The city, however, was called Marquette only until 1867.

In Milwaukee the Jesuits have built a Marquette University High School, as well as a University, which rejoices in the possession of some of the relics of Marquette that were given to it when his grave was opened in Pointe St. Ignace. Each year Marquette University awards a Certificate of Distinctive Civic Service to the man or woman who has most benefited the community and thus aims to instill in the hearts of men and women a desire to emulate the great Marquette, who by his example teaches us to magnify the love of God and fellow man in our hearts by deeds of service and self-sacrifice in everyday life.

Another striking tribute paid to Marquette is the giving of his name to a railway system in Michigan, the Pere Marquette. As Agnes Repplier says, "The mere sight of this road's time tables, ornamented with a picture of a particularly snorty and smoke-blowing engine, makes one think anew of the two little boats threading their slow and difficult way through the dangerous currents of the Mississippi."[27]

In the early part of the twentieth century a layman's movement, for the purpose of co-operating with the ecclesiastical authorities to preserve the Faith among the Catholic Indians of the United States, and to endeavor in every legitimate way to improve the spiritual and material conditions of the American Indian, resulted in the formation of a society which is appropriately called the Marquette League. Today this league works in harmony with the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, Washington, D. C., and its work extends into almost every state of the Union, thus not only preserving the name but above all the "glorious enterprise" of Marquette, who gave his life that others may have life more abundantly.

The city of Chicago is actively endeavoring to perpetuate the memory of Marquette and to obtain for him, recognition as a great national hero. By proclamation of Mayor William E. Dever the "fourth day of December" has been set aside as "Marquette Day" to be observed and celebrated in accordance with the terms of the preamble and resolutions adopted by the City Council, December 3, 1924.[28]

Numerous as are the memorials of the devoted missionary, neither bronze nor marble is so glorious a testimony to his name as the reverence in which this meek, single-hearted, unpretentious, illustrious Marquette shall ever be held.

Notre Dame High School MARY COLOMBIERE ARTH
Cleveland, Ohio

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[27] Agnes Repplier, *Père Marquette,* p. 279-280.

[28] *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* Oct., 1924.

POTTINGER'S CREEK SETTLEMENT—KENTUCKY, 1785

It is not often that the student of history in the United States has an opportunity to delve into old documents. Perhaps the pages to which I am going to refer do not merit to be classified among ancient lore, but it seemed to me, as I read them, that they reached back to a venerable antiquity.

I was searching for some original papers in reference to the Pottinger's Creek Settlement. Let me explain at the very outset that the Pottinger's Creek Settlement at one time extended its spiritual sway from the Allegheny Mountains to the plains of the Far West. For years I had lived near Pottinger's Creek, I had read of Pottinger's Creek, and talked of Pottinger's Creek; and yet I could not have told anyone just where Pottinger's Creek was. Nor could I have explained to an interested inquirer why people settled on creeks, and on this special creek.

This much I knew. In 1785 twenty-five Catholic families sold their farms in Maryland and migrated to Kentucky. For two centuries the Catholics of Maryland had fought against all odds for the boon of religious liberty. But even after the Revolutionary War, the feeling of hostility against the Catholics was so intense that many of them formed a league to quit Maryland and seek homes for themselves in the new country beyond the Allegheny Mountains. On reaching central Kentucky they settled on Pottinger's Creek (1785), Cartwright Creek (1787), Hardin's Creek (1786), and Cox's Creek (1795).

Eastern Kentucky is mountainous, and the western section slopes down to the valley of the Mississippi River. In the center of the state, and extending on either side of the Blue Grass, and reaching down into Tennessee in the shape of the letter Y, is a geological formation known as the Knobs,—a rugged region with ranges of hills and bold outcrops of limestone. The four creeks mentioned above intersect the Knobs west of the Blue Grass.

In 1775 there was a Catholic physician, Dr. Hart, and a Catholic school teacher, William Coomes, in Harrodsburg not far from the present city of Lexington. This was only six years after the famed Daniel Boone had migrated into the state. In 1785, when the contingent of Catholic families came to Kentucky from Maryland, the land was a part of Virginia. These twenty-five Catholic families had received the deeds to their property from an agent of the Virginia Commonwealth. It did not seem likely that these deeds would be again recorded when the settlers reached their new homes. The earliest accounts that could be expected would be those of newly acquired property or the transfer of property that had been bought in Virginia. Could such documents be found? I investigated the files of the County Clerk's office in Nelson County, one of the oldest county seats in the western Knob region. Mr. Charles Woodson Roby, the assistant County Clerk, at once assured me that he had some documents of the period that I wished to examine. The first dated back to the 24th of May, 1785, the very year when the Catholics arrived in the State.

I copy the following from the first page: "Be it remembered that on the 24th of May, 1785, and the ninth year of the Independence of the United States, a Commission under his excellency Patrick Henry, Governor of the State of Virginia, constituting and appointing Isaac Cox and Isaac Morrison, Justices of the Peace in the County of Nelson, etc."

As was evident from examination and from signatures on subsequent pages, this document was copied by Isaac Morrison. Then followed numerous deeds of transfer of property and decisions of courts. Morrison's writing reminds one of a steel engraving; and although the ink had partly faded and the paper had been discolored, it was a pleasure to read the pages. The official records from 1785 to 1797 are in three ledgers measuring from ten to sixteen inches in size and known as the "Deed Record-Book," 1, 2, 3. Some years ago the three documents, of about two hundred pages each, were bound by the Gethsemani Abbey Book Bindery. The work of the bindery resembles the stout volumes of the monks of the Middle Ages. Only a fire will destroy the "Deed Record-Book."

Reading the pages of the old records and being familiar with the geological formation of the locality, I came to understand why the Catholics had settled on creeks. These small waterways bear the same name today that they had a hundred and fifty years ago. Government markings were then seldom used, and as a substitute the creeks were selected. As these small waterways had cut their channels through lime-stone banks, they could change but little. A farm located on either side of the creek and extending to some other rivulet, or river, could be identified as accurately as the latest government marking.

When the Catholics arrived in Kentucky they had little or no difficulty in finding their new homes. Basil Hayden, the leader of the expedition, had a large farm extending along Pottinger's Creek, which emptied into the Rolling Fork River. Cartwright Creek flowed into the Beech Fork River; so with the creeks and rivers as marks, it was an easy matter to locate the homesteads. Later when the property was subdivided, trees were used for land marks, and a certain proprietor's holdings extended "from Cartwright Creek ten poles to a hickory tree and thirty poles to a white oak." A study of the adjoining map will give an accurate knowledge of the first settlement of the Maryland Catholics in Kentucky.

Basil Hayden early sought to extend his domains. It will be noticed that he clung to the banks of Pottinger's Creek. We copy the deed of transfer with its abbreviations and quaint wording:

> "Know all men by these presents that we Isaac Morrison and Charles Ewing both of Nelson County and State of Virginia are held and firmly bound unto Basil Hayden of the State of Maryland in the penal sum of two hundred and fifty pounds current money of Virginia to be paid to the said Basil Hayden his heirs Exers. or Adms. and to the true payment whereof we bind ourselves our heirs and Executors firmly by these presents Sealed with our Seals and dated this third day of Dec. One thousand Seven hundred and Eighty five.
>
> "The Condition of the above obligation is such that if the above bounded Isaac Morrison and Charles Ewing their heirs, Exers. or Admrs. or either of them do and shall well & truly convey or cause to be conveyed unto the above mentioned Basil Hayden his heirs Exers. or Admrs. a certain tract of land situated on the north side of Pottinger's Creek adjoining Philomon Lee on the east containing three hundred acres of land by a good and sufficient deed a good sure and indeceasible estate of inheritance in Fee Simple on or before the 25th day of December One thousand Seven hundred and Eighty Seven, and that without fraud or further delay, then the above obligation to be void otherwise to remain in full force and virtue. March 12, 1790."

By the time that Bishop Flaget arrived, (1811) towns and parishes had been organized. The records of Bardstown reach back to 1782, but it was only in 1787 that it was incorporated. Before taking up his residence in his episcopal See (Bardstown), the Bishop lived in a log cabin at St. Thomas. This old cabin still stands, the center of a spiritual jurisdiction that now embraces numerous dioceses and archdioceses. Holy Cross, the oldest parish, was for more than a century all but lost among the Knobs, but at present a wide highway lures many tourists to see the little church that has been a place of worship for a century and a half.

It was during a recent visit to Holy Cross that I was shown the exact location of the old Trappist monastery, built by the monks in 1805. The pathetic story of the wanderings and trials of these monks has often been told. Exiled from their monastery in France they sought to establish their community in the United States, first in Pennsylvania in 1804, and the following year in Kentucky among the Catholics. With their own hands they moulded the bricks and cut the stone for their new monastery. Once established they opened a school for the children of the neighborhood, and many a future citizen owed his success in life to the elements of education which he received from the Trappists. The location of the old monastery is about a quarter of a mile south-east of the present Holy Cross Church. Even the foundation of the building has been dug away, but the outline of the cellar is plainly visible; and the clear spring, which was no doubt a deciding factor in the selection of the location, still gives forth its generous supply of water. The mason work of cut stone around the spring, evidently the labor of some monk, is as strong as when it was made. Mr. Cleophas Ballard, who took me to the place, showed me some of the old brick of the building. There can be no doubt that this is the exact location, for when Mr. C. M. Ballard, the father of my guide, purchased the property forty years ago, the foundation was largely intact and some of the flooring remained. The place was then known as the "Old Monkery." No disrespect was meant by these words, but the crumbling building would naturally be given some appellation distinctive of its former use. Other old inhabitants can recall the stone foundation, the superior workmanship, the long, double row of masonry, far too large for any private house of the times. Some generous lover of history should mark the exact location of the first Trappist monastery in Kentucky, for the story and the place will soon vanish from the minds of men. In 1809 the monks went to Florisant, near St. Louis, and afterwards across the Mississippi River to a place now known as Monk's Mound. This religious house was also later abandoned and many of the monks returned to their native country.

The records in the Nelson County Clerk's Office contain one of the most precious documents in the State, the will of John

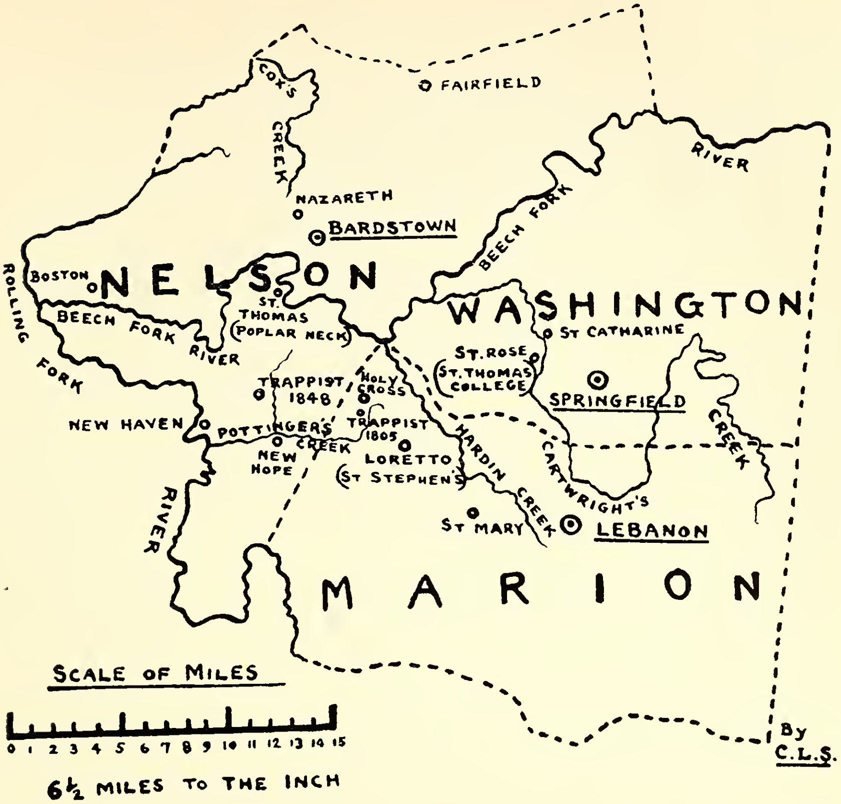
Fitch. When the framers of the Constitution of the United States were busily engaged in their work and were wrangling over their difficulties, it is well known that Franklin was the pacifier; and when Hamilton threatened to leave or Madison became weary of labor, it was the policy of Franklin to invite them to a feast and regale them with good French wine. One day he found a different method of entertainment by informing the assembly that a man down on the river claimed that he could propel a boat by means of steam. To the water's edge trooped the dignified but curious law-makers. Standing in his small craft was a man who had made a great discovery. At a signal from Franklin he pulled a lever and his boat moved out over the river. It went forward and backward, fast and slow. The demonstration was successful; the boat did all that the inventor claimed for it. The remarkable thing is that not one of those great men grasped the value of the experiment. Finding few backers and being unable to make his invention pay, John Fitch abandoned his project and like so many of that time turned to the growing West. He reached Bardstown and earned his livelihood as a surveyor. The original of his will is preserved in the Clerk's Office and the National Government has erected a monument to his memory. Careful students have accorded him the honor of being the inventor of the steam boat, as he was many years before Fulton. Read his quaint will:

The Last Will of John Fitch of Nelson County. June 20, 1798.

I, John Fitch of the County of Nelson do make this my last will and Testament—To William Rowan Esq. and trusty friend I bequeath my Beaver Hat, Shoe, knee and Hock buckles, Walking Stick, and spectacles—To Doctor William Thornton of the City of Washington in the District of Columbia, To Eliza Vail daughter of Aaron Vail Consul of the United States at L'Orient—To John Rowan Esq. of Bards Town son of said William and to James Nourse of said Town—I bequeath all of the rest of my estate real and personal to be divided amongst them share and share alike. And I appoint the said John Rowan Esq. and John Nourse Esq. my executors and the legacies hereby bequeathed to them my said executors in consideration of their accepting the Executorship and bringing to a final close all suits at law and attending to the business of the estate hereby bequeathed—Hereby declaring this to be my last will and testament this 20th day of June One Thousand Seven hundred and Ninety eight.

Witness my hand and seal.

John Fitch


COX'S CREEK
FAIRFIELD
RIVER
NAZARETH
BARDSTOWN
BEECH FORK
ROLLING FORK
BOSTON
NELSON
ST. THOMAS (POPLAR NECK)
BEECH FORK RIVER
WASHINGTON
ST CATHARINE
ST. ROSE
(ST. THOMAS COLLEGE
SPRINGFIELD
TRAPPIST 1848
HOLY CROSS
TRAPPIST 1805
NEW HAVEN
POTTINGERS' CREEK
NEW HOPE
LORETTO
(ST STEPHEN'S
HARDIN CREEK
CARTWRIGHT'S CREEK
RIVER
ST MARY
LEBANON
MARION
SCALE OF MILES
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
6½ MILES TO THE INCH
By C.L.S.

The three counties which embrace the original territory where the Catholics of Maryland first settled, are Nelson, Washington, and Marion, but at the time the whole country around was known as Nelson County. Bardstown, the first bishopric west of the Alleghenies, is forty miles south of Louisville. It is high above the creeks and the rivers. So from their first homes along the creeks, the people gradually took possession of the highlands.

I think that the most remarkable achievement of these Maryland-Kentucky Catholics was their building of educational institutions. The Dominican Fathers opened up a college for young men soon after their arrival in 1806. St. Joseph's College and St. Mary's College followed, both in 1820. Three native Sisterhoods Loretto, Nazareth and St. Catharine's conducted flourishing academies for young ladies. As an indication of the ideals and ambition of these institutions I submit a copy of the original charter of St. Joseph's College at Bardstown:

AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE OF BARDSTOWN.

Whereas it has been represented to the General Commonwealth of Kentucky that there is a seminary of learning at Bardstown promoted and sustained by Roman Catholic clergymen of that place by means of their own resources, industry and intelligence, that the said seminary has been open and free for persons of every denomination, the managers thereof only requiring an observance of moral rectitude by the pupils, upon their entrance thereof and during their continuance therein: And whereas it is not less accordant to the genius of this Republic, than compatible with the sentiments of this legislature, that the dissemination of learning and morality are amongst the first attributes that should characterize its citizens.

Sect. 1st. Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, that the said seminary of learning shall be denominated and known as the St. Joseph's College of Bardstown; that it shall be managed on principles that are liberal, equal, and for the benefit of every class of citizens, and of any religious denomination; that they shall have all the benefits and literary honors of said college, according to their merit, under the direction and superintendence of the Right Reverend Benedict Joseph Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown, who shall be styled and known as the moderator of said college, and M. David G. Chabrat, James Derigaud, William Byrne, J. Hazeltine, and N. Coomes are hereby constituted the trustees thereof.

The said trustees and their successors, by the name of the trustees of the St. Joseph's College of Bardstown, shall be a body politic and incorporate, and as such shall forever exist. The said Moderator shall be chairman to the board of said trustees, and when in meeting his power shall be equal to one of the trustees. Being thus constituted, they, or a majority thereof, shall form a quorum, who are authorized to pass such ordinances and by-laws, by a majority present concurring therein, that are not contrary to the Constitution of the United States, that of this State or the laws thereof, for the benefit of said college; provided, however, the said Moderator, from any cause whatever, shall not be present at a meeting of the said trustees, which shall take place at least twice a year, or oftener if they think proper, the said trustees or a majority thereof, may appoint a chairman pro tempore, who shall for the time substitute the said Moderator.

The said trustees and Moderator shall keep a book or books, and enter therein their proceedings, and when required, shall expose the same to the inspection of persons who have, and those who express an intention of sending pupils to said college. The said trustees may have a seal on which any design or inscription may be impressed, they think proper, and may alter or break the same at pleasure.

Sec. 2nd. Be it further enacted, that the said trustees constituted, shall be called and known by the name of trustees of the St. Joseph College of Bardstown, by that may sue and be sued; implead and be impleaded by any court of record, Judge or Justice of the Peace or body created by the law, having jurisdiction of the subject matter, about which the said suit or suits may lie. The said trustees may receive any conveyance, gift, de-vice, bequest; make any contract, buy, sell, convey, etc. in this their corporate capacity, and have the same power that corporate bodies, created by law, have, that are consistent with this institution; provided that the rents and proceeds, acquired by this corporate body shall at no time excced the amount of fifty thousand dollars per annum. The said trustees shall have their station in the said college, one year only, at which time the said Moderator shall have the power of electing others or the same if he shall think proper, and increase the number to twelve; and this power may be exercised by him every year thereafter, or his successor or successors to the Bishoprick. And in the case of the death, removal, or resignation of either of the said trustees, his place may be supplied by an appointment, that may be made by the said Bishop or successor or successors, who may also become the Moderator in the institution, and act and do as the said B. J. Flaget is empowered by this act to do.

Sec. 3rd. Be it further enacted that the said Moderator and trustees shall have power to constitute and appoint a president and necessary and proper professors, tutors, masters and assistants to instruct the students of said college in all the liberal arts and sciences, and the ancient and modern languages, as they may be appointed and nominated to teach. And the president and professors so appointed, shall be distinguished and known by the name of President and Professors of the Saint Joseph's College of Bardstown, and in that character may be capable of exercising such powers and authorities that said trustees and their successors may delegate to them by their ordinances for the instruction of all the students and scholars, and the wholesome and faithful government of said college; provided, however, it is reserved to the Legislature of this Commonwealth to withdraw the powers of corporation from the institution whenever they conceive that trusts and confidence abused that are herein reposed; but, as no funds have ever been given to this institution by this Commonwealth, so none are to be taken away, in the event of the withdrawal of the corporate capacity. Approved Dec. 27th, 1824. (Chap. 63, page 65 of the Acts passed at the first session of this thirty third general assembly for the Commonwealth of Kentucky.)

Chap. 197, page 186. An act supplementary to an act entitled: "An Act to Incorporate the St. Joseph's College of Bardstown."

Whereas doubts exist, whether the institution has power to confer degrees upon their pupils and graduates; for remedy thereof:

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, that the said institution has power to confer such degrees and literary honors upon the pupils of the College as the managers thereof think them entitled to, from the rectitude of their conduct and their advancement in learning.

(Approved Jan. 12th, 1825.)

Of the three colleges for young men established in Kentucky in the early part of the last century, St. Joseph's at Bardstown and St. Mary's near Lebanon are well known, as they have come down to our own time; but the records of the third college, St.

Thomas, named after the great Dominican Doctor, St. Thomas Aquinas, were for almost a century unknown to history. It was owing to the patient and accurate research of the Very Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O. P., that St. Thomas College has regained its place of honor. Having its humble beginning soon after the coming of the Dominican Fathers in 1806, it was the first Catholic institution of higher learning to be founded west of the Allegheny Mountains. After the lapse of a few years it had a hundred students, and soon counted two hundred in its classes. Its professors were highly educated men from the colleges and universities of Europe, and soon attracted students from distant states, some coming from the French-Canadian settlements of Michigan and others from Louisiana. In 1816 a young boy appeared at the college door and applied for admission. It was no other than young Jefferson Davis, later to be known as the President of the Southern Confederacy. The lad had come on horse-back with a servant and a sumpter mule all the way from the southwestern part of Mississippi; for in those days there were neither boats on the rivers, nor stage-coaches connecting Kentucky with the far southern states. Jefferson Davis ever remained the friend of the Dominican Fathers and later in manhood when he met a Dominican priest, the Very Rev. Matthew O'Brien, O. P., he knelt and asked his blessing.[1]

It is interesting to note that when the young boy Davis rode into the college grounds at St. Thomas, there was another young boy by the name of Abraham Lincoln living with his father at Elizabethtown only a few miles away. "Thomas Lincoln's new outlook into the world," writes Dr. Barton in his authoritative *Life of Abraham Lincoln,* (p. 85), "was towards the prosperous settlements of the Roman Catholics in the neighborhood of Bardstown. Edward Eggleston has reminded us how frequently the first teachers of frontier schools were Irishmen. Abraham Lincoln's first school-teacher was an Irish Catholic." In 1817 the Lincoln family moved to Indiana.

A glance at the attached map will show that the three colleges named above were only a few miles apart. They were engaged in friendly rivalry, but St. Thomas "had almost as many students as the other two colleges combined." Then St. Joseph's at Bardstown was augmented by the arrival of a whole college of fifty-four students from Louisiana. A French priest, Rev. B. Martial had heard of the Kentucky college, and finding it difficult to continue an institution which he had started, resolved to remove the entire student body to St. Joseph's College.[2]

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[1] The full account of the stay of Jefferson Davis at St. Thomas College is given in *The Right Reverend Richard Pius Miles, the First Bishop of Nashville* by V. P. O'Daniel, O. P., p. 153. Our account of the college is from the same volume, pages 147 to 193, *passim.*

In 1882 the Diocese of Bardstown had its three colleges, a flourishing seminary, five academies for the education of young women, and four parochial schools. At the same time Baltimore had one seminary, two colleges, two academies, but no parochial school. New York had two parochial schools, but did not have a single college, seminary, or academy.

St. John's College
Toledo, O.

HENRY S. SPALDING

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[2] O'Daniel, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

FATHER EDMUND BURKE

With the possible exception of Father Pierre Gibault no other priest owing allegiance to the Bishop of Quebec had such an eventful career within the present boundaries of the United States as did Father Edmund Burke, first parish priest of Rivière-aux-Raisins (now Monroe City, Michigan), who later became Vicar-Apostolic of Nova Scotia and titular Bishop of Sion.

Born at Maryborough, County Kildare, Ireland, in 1753, Edmund Burke was educated and ordained in Paris. On returning to Ireland he became a curate in his native diocese of Kildare and Leighlin and was later parish priest of Kildare. Dissension had arisen in the Diocese of Kildare owing to a controversy arising out of the appointment of Dr. Delany, the coadjutor, and Father Burke was advised by Dr. Carpenter, Archbishop of Dublin, to seek a foreign mission. At the time Bishop D'Esglis of Quebec was in need of English-speaking priests, and he had requested Dr. Butler, Bishop of Cork, to procure him desirable subjects: "If you send us priests, they will not be too many if they wish to consecrate themselves to the service of Youth in the seminary of Quebec. For this employment it would be necessary to know French or have a facility in learning it."[1]

Five priests came to the diocese of Quebec as a result of this appeal, among them Father Burke, who arrived in Quebec in September, 1786. Bishop D'Esglis, writing to the Abbé Hussey, his ecclesiastical agent in London, announces the arrival of Father Burke and Father McDonnell:

"I have received with gratitude the Abbés Burke and McDonnell, whom you have had the kindness to send me. I have paid the passage of the first [of the two], following out your wishes. He is staying at the Seminary to teach philosophy. The other will probably rejoin, in the quality of missionary, his Scotch troop, who are going to settle at Catarakoui."[2]

Father Burke began teaching at the Seminary on October 1, 1786; but the monotonous life seems to have irked him after a while and he desired a broader field for his activities. Accordingly he planned to give a course of public lectures in the city of Quebec, but he was debarred by the English officials, despite the fact that he was on excellent terms with the Governor-General, Lord Dorchester. Writing to Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, under date October 20, 1790, Father Burke says: "The Governor-General will not permit me to give a public instruction on any subject within the City of Quebec; and the Bishop in title will not permit me to leave the town . . . The coadjutor [Mgr. Bailly], an able politician, will not hear of my leaving town, because he intends to place me as professor of astronomy in a university, the charter of which is this instant making out in the council. I need not tell Your Grace that it is not the business of a clergyman . . . There is a vast country north of the lakes, beginning at Lake Ontario and running westward to the Pacific Ocean, possessed or claimed by England, in which though there are a great number of posts and several Indian villages, whose inhabitants are Catholics, there is not, nor has there been a single missionary since the conquest of this province . . . I have been so cautious in my political conduct since my arrival in Quebec that I have at length set all prejudices aside, and am on the best terms with the Governor and all the general officers, so that I can obtain a passport when I please, and permission to establish a mission in whatever quarter I please. I have no doubt of being able to obtain a pension from the government for the support of a missionary. Let me, therefore, request that you will, My Lord, graciously please to write to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda to obtain a mission for me in that region; and as the sacrament of confirmation was never administered to those poor Catholics, a power of administering that sacrament would be of infinite use, if His Holiness should think proper to grant it, with any other indulgence which may be for the spiritual welfare of a hitherto abandoned people."[3]

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[1] Archives de l'Évêché de Québec. Bishop D'Esglis à Bishop Butler of Cork, October 26, 1785.

[2] *Ibid.* Mgr. D'Esglis à M. Hussey, September 19, 1786. The other priest mentioned was Father Roderick McDonnell, who became a missionary at St. Regis in Upper Canada.

To understand what the university alluded to above really meant, we must make a brief excursus into the politico-religious realm:

"The Church of Canada was then going through one of the most critical periods of its existence. England was then seeking more than ever to put into execution the project it had conceived, ever since the conquest, of protestantizing the Canadians. The Governors had received to this end secret instructions, which are known today and which looked to nothing less than to corrupt the clergy in order to belittle it and make it lose its influence with the people. The Government wished to set itself over ecclesiastical affairs and sought to arrogate to itself the right of nominating to the parishes, that is to say, of placing its own creatures in the most important posts. . . . In 1789 was set a snare as skillfully contrived as could be. Under pretext of promoting public instruction, a proposition was made to establish a university half Protestant and half Catholic. The Jesuit estates . . . were to be placed at the disposition of the directors, some of whom would be Catholic. But the protestants would have the upper hand in the university. Msgr. Hubert opposed the project with vigor and submitted to the governor, Lord Dorchester, a Memoir in which he set forth his reasons for doing so."[4]

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[3] Halifax Archives, cited by O'Brien in *Memoirs of Bishop Burke,* Ottawa, 1894, p. 9.

The most unfortunate feature of this hybrid university scheme was the fact that Mgr. Bailly, the coadjutor of Quebec, was allied with the Bishop's opponents. Though the priests and the major part of the Catholic laity supported the Bishop, Father Burke seems to have been on the opposite side: "The Clergy *en masse* as well as the people took sides with their bishop, consoled him in his sorrow and pledged him every assistance. One of the most prominent of the priests, one who should have been among the first to take up the cudgels alongside his chief . . . was the Abbé Burke . . . He wished to make himself agreeable to the governor, [and] paid court to him, without however breaking with the bishop, who was in a position to ruin his career."[5]

This incident no doubt chagrined Father Burke and stimulated his desire to leave Quebec to establish a mission in the West, of which he had previously written to Dr. Troy. The Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* did not take any action on Father Burke's request at the time, however, as it deemed it wise to postpone the matter until it had been better informed, and wrote to Bishop Hubert concerning the project. Evidently the Sacred Congregation was fully aware of the unfortunate episode of Father Didier's attempt to establish a colony in northern Ohio, where such untoward incidents had recently occurred in connection with the establishment of a French settlement at Gallipolis.[6]

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[4] *Mémoire sur les Missions de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, du Cap Breton et de l'Ile du Prince Edouard, de 1760 à 1820, d'après les Archives de l'Archevêché de Québec et de la Propagande de Rome,* Québec, 1895, p. 97.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 98.

Having failed in his plan to proceed to the West as Missionary-Apostolic, Father Burke seems to have written to Bishop Carroll, recently appointed to the see of Baltimore, expressing his desire to pass to his jurisdiction, as the following appears to indicate: "If Mr. Burke shows a desire to withdraw into another diocese, I will not oppose him and will give him his *Exeat* whenever he asks for it."[7] In the interim Bishop Hubert had appointed Father Burke to the parish of St. Pierre d'Orléans, one of the most enviable pastorates in his diocese, where he remained from September, 1791, to the autumn of 1794. Soon after this appointment, Bishop Hubert received notice from Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect of the Propaganda, in which it was stated that Father Burke desired to be appointed to a mission in the West. To this the Bishop replied on October 25, 1791:

> "Edmund Burke, an Irishman, in behalf of whom the Archbishop of Dublin wrote to the Sacred Congregation, is a learned priest, firm in the faith and regular in conduct. He has taught with applause two courses of philosophy in the Seminary, of which he was one of the directors . . . He is tired of being at the Seminary and has recently asked me for a curacy in the diocese, which I entrusted to him with pleasure. I do not think that he will keep it long owing to a certain inconstancy that has been remarked in him. His plan to go to preach in the Northwest of North America originates with a man who does not know the country. Those localities, uncivilized for the most part, are not coveted by any one. It would even be difficult to say to what particular power they belong . . . I stayed four years in Detroit before my episcopate, in the quality of Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec. It is out there that I obtained knowledge about the upper regions and I could have been their first missionary if the futility of the undertaking had not been made clear to me. For the rest, if Mr. Burke persists in the design of working in America, it will not be impossible to employ him in a new establishment which is now shaping itself beyond Detroit, and should it subsequently be in place to establish there a Vicarate-Apostolic, without giving umbrage to the English government, I shall be the first to solicit it for him."[8]

Father Burke was presumably cognizant of Bishop Hubert's action. He remained at St. Pierre, however, until two years later. He was evidently discontented there, as writing to Father Plessis (later Bishop of Quebec), then curé of the City of Quebec, he says (May 30, 1794), *"Je m'ennuie à la mort,"* and adds that he was about to resign his charge; this he did a few months later. Soon after his resignation he was appointed by Bishop Hubert curé of Rivière-aux-Raisins, some thirty miles from Detroit. The nomination of a pastor to this section came about in the following way:—Simcoe, governor of Upper Canada, which had become a political entity by the Constitutional Act (1791), expressed a desire to Bishop Hubert that a priest should be sent to this outpost for *political reasons.* He realized that the presence of a Catholic missionary there would be more helpful in preserving order than a regiment of soldiers. Simcoe was an Empire Loyalist who had fought against the United States during the War for Independence and had been with Cornwallis when the latter surrendered at Yorktown. The Canadian appointment was a reward for his services, presumably. The bishop appointed Father Burke and vested him with the power of Vicar-General. "The bishop, however, was not without apprehension as to the success of this mission, fearing, in view of Mr. Burke's antecedents, that he would not remain long, and would not there be a messenger of peace."[9]

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[6] See Kenny's art. "Gallipolis" in *Catholic Historical Review,* vol. iv, pp. 415-50.

[7] Archives de l'Évêché de Québec. Hubert à Carroll, June 24, 1792.

[8] *Ibid.* Hubert à Antonelli, October 25, 1791.

Father Burke set out from Quebec for his mission at the end of September, 1794, and made his first ecclesiastical halt at Kingston (Cataraqui). Writing to Bishop Hubert on October 14 he informed him that he had "arranged" that Father McDonnell, of St. Regis should visit that mission twice a year pending the appointment of a regular missionary there.[10] From Kingston Father Burke went to Niagara for a conference with Governor Simcoe. His interview was apparently satisfactory. Later we shall find Father Burke again at Niagara, to attend the sessions of the parliament of Upper Canada, "in the interests of the Church." It is beyond question that one of the reasons which induced the British Government to be so favorably disposed towards a Catholic missionary was to hold the Indians of the region in the neighborhood of Detroit in submission, and, if possible, to retain them within the British jurisdiction. This seems evident from the following: "In the year 1794 Governor Simcoe wrote to Lord Dorchester, Governor-General, that he much desired that a priest, loyal to the king, and of proved fidelity, might be sent to Raisin River, on the west of Lake Erie, to instruct the people in morality and their duty towards the king. The Bishop of Quebec desirous of meeting the wishes of the Governor, appointed me."[11]

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[9] *Mémoire sur les Missions,* p. 104.

[10] Tanguay, *Repertoire du Clergé Canadien,* p. 133, says of Father McDonnell: "McDonnell, Joachim-Roderic, arrivé en juin, 1784, missionaire à Saint-Regis, où il décéde le 25 aout 1806, agé 50 ans."

From Niagara Father Burke proceeded to Detroit, where was located Father Frechette, the successor to Father Payette, who had spent several years in that section. Frechette had made frequent visits to Raisin River, and seems to have been most acceptable to the inhabitants. This mission apparently included a section of the country lying along the Maumee River in Ohio, where there was an English fort known as Miami and an English garrison. When Father Burke assumed charge of Raisin River, this was an outpost of his parish. He was consequently the first English-speaking priest in northwestern Ohio. "But Burke's labors, like those of his predecessors, were of short duration, ceasing with the withdrawal of the British forces which he accompanied into Canada."[12]

On November 7, 1794, shortly after Burke had located at Raisin River, Father Dufaux, curé of L'Assomption (Sandwich), writes to Bishop Hubert: "I am delighted that the people of Raisin River have a curé . . . They have a long time been in great need of one. I believe he will be able to agree with Raisin River, but I doubt whether Raisin River will agree with him."[13]

At Raisin River Father Burke found a church, which was unpretentious, and a very primitive sort of residence. Writing from Miami, under date, February 2, 1795, he says: "I am in the administration of Upper Canada, with every episcopal power except what requires the Episcopal Order; yet I find a great want of power, for here the limits are unsettled. The very parish in which I live may be a subject of dispute between the Bishop of Baltimore and Quebec, though it be distant 400 or 500 leagues from either. That gives me great uneasiness. I know no jurisdiction certain but that of His Holiness; besides, confirmation is a sacrament here totally unknown, in a country where there are some thousands of Catholics."[14] From another letter, written from Detroit, May 20, 1795, we learn a great deal from

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[11] Letter of Father Burke to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, in Halifax Archives, cited by O'Brien, in *Memoirs of Bishop Burke,* p. 11.

[12] O'Daniel, "The Centenary of Ohio's Oldest Catholic Church," in *Catholic Historical Review,* vol. iv, p. 20 ff.

[13] *Archives de l'Évêché,* Québec, Cahier, "Detroit," 1796. Dufaux à Hubert.

[14] Halifax Archives, cited by O'Brien, *op. cit.,* p. 15.

Father Burke about the difficulties which he has experienced from the *Sans Culottes;* but who these were, we do not know, and he adds: "I never walk out but in company and always armed. Yet I had the consolation to see some people make their Easter Communion who have been absent twenty or thirty years back. I have lived entirely at the expense of the Government and under its protection. As I am stationed on Canadian lands, which are ceded to the Americans, I must change my quarters. . . . I wrote by this post to the Bishop of Baltimore, to give him notice that if he can send two clergymen to occupy the vacant parishes, I will give them the necessary faculties."[15]

The difficulties alluded to in the above letter arose from the Jay-Grenville arrangement, or, as it is known officially, the Treaty of London, which became effective in November, 1796. This new treaty was rendered necessary because Great Britain had not observed some of the provisions of the Treaty of Paris (1783), and there was constant friction between England and the United States. By the London Treaty it was definitely prescribed among other things that all forts held by Great Britain on the northwest frontier should be evacuated by the British. As a result, Detroit and Raisin River passed to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Bishop Carroll, who found it difficult to provide priests for those missions. He appealed to the Bishop of Quebec, asking leave to retain the priests who had hitherto attended Detroit, Raisin River, and Mackinac. Bishop Hubert, under date May 2, 1796, reluctantly informed Bishop Carroll that he needed priests too badly to be able to spare any for parishes or missions not to belong to his diocese. Thereupon Bishop Carroll entrusted these missions to the Sulpicians. The text of Bishop Carroll's letter is found in Shea:[16]

> "I feel keenly the loss which these parishes will sustain in being deprived of the zealous and experienced pastors you have given them, and whom they will need more than ever in view of the efforts which will be made to corrupt their morals and their principles of faith. It was this that made me desire so ardently, that their present pastors should continue to discharge towards them the functions you have confided to them. My conscience would be relieved of an anxiety, the prospects of which alarm me. I do not think any difficulty will be raised by the government of the United States, unless in the case of Rev. Mr. Burke, whom ill-intentioned

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[15] *Ibid.*

[16] *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll,* New York, 1888, p. 479.

people and especially an apostate Dominican, named LeDru,[17] have succeeded in imbuing some of the officers of the American troops posted near Detroit, with prejudices against that priest, as one who endeavored to foment and excite in the heart of the Indians, great animosity and vengeance against these States."[18]

Despite this, Bishop Carroll was willing to associate Father Burke to his diocese and employ his talents and ministry.[19]

Father Burke's career at Raisin River was rather exciting, though his correspondence does not indicate the actual conditions in that distant mission. The history of the mission had an earlier chapter than the adventure of its first curé, as may be gleaned from the following account which was written by his successor, Father Jean Dilhet, a Sulpician, who was associated with Fathers Levadoux and Richard in Southern Michigan:

> "In 1779 Mr. Frechette, parish priest of Detroit, came to visit this settlement [Raisin River] for the first time, and having called a general meeting of the settlers, he exhorted them, in the name of the Bishop of Quebec, to build a church and a priest's house, so that he, or some other priest, could come from time to time to afford them a means of performing their religious duties. Everybody agreed to the proposal; work was begun, and the chapel and priest's house were built just as they exist to-day. [The church was standing in 1842.] Mr. Frechette kept his word, and came to visit them from time to time, and administered the sacraments. When the English were hard pressed by the Americans to surrender Detroit and the neighboring settlements (according to the terms of the treaty), they engaged a Mr. Burke, an Irish Vicar-General of the Diocese of Quebec, to proceed to Raisin River as their commissioner and locate there in order to work for the retention of the French and the Indians of the place, within the English territory. Had this mission been successful, a memorial would have been drawn up, requesting them to remain subject to the English government. The Americans would have been apprised of this request, and probably they would have declined to take by force a section of the country whose people refused to submit to them. As Mr. Burke was a Vicar-General, very capable, and favorably disposed towards the English, success seemed assured. The fact that he proposed to exercise the ministry there (and actually did) lent added force to these ex-

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[17] Le Dru seems to have had a somewhat checkered career. Previous to his appearance in the Illinois country, whither he had been sent by Bishop Carroll in 1788 or thereabouts, he had been a missioner in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and records of his difficulties are in evidence (Archives de l'Évêché de Québec, Carton, "Memramcook," 1776. Cfr. Casgrain, *Un Pèlerinage au Pays de l'Evangeline,* Quebec, 1887).

[18] The Hon. James McHenry wrote to Bishop Carroll: "It appears that when General Wayne was using his endeavors to induce the Indians to come in and treat, his [Fr. Burke's] influence was exerted to prevent them from attending." (Shea, *Life and Times* of John Carroll, p. 479, footnote.)

[19] Archives de l'Évêché de Québec. Letter of Bishop Carroll to Bishop Hubert, March 2, 1796, Cahier "Detroit."

> pectations; but the programme miscarried. A strong faction, known as the American party, was formed in opposition to him, and this was moreover backed by popular sentiment. Mr. Burke's sermons were construed as political speeches—an invitation to bondage. He often was forced to interrupt his discourses, and sometimes, to cease preaching. Threats were uttered against him, and these became more serious, when it was seen that he persisted in remaining in the country, to bolster up the English party, which was very weak . . . Mr. Levadoux, having replaced Mr. Frechette at Detroit, came from time to time to Raisin River as missionary to administer the sacraments until my arrival from France. After all three of us, Mr. Levadoux, Mr. Richard, and myself, had discussed the subject, it was decided that I should go and locate in Raisin River to organize a parish of which the boundaries should be: Lake Erie, on the east; River Écorce, on the north; westward, the Pacific Ocean; and southward, Post Vincennes."[20]

The Bishop of Quebec had expressed a wish that Father Burke should remain in Detroit after the cession to the United States; but he declined, and writing to the Bishop, November 5, 1795, says: "I cannot accept the mission of Detroit, for your Lordship can readily understand that such a step would give great displeasure to the government from whom I have received every mark of good-will, and would engender a well-founded distrust of a clergyman, which might have regrettable consequences."[21] "Father Burke was most loyal to the English Government, although he was ever ready to oppose and set at naught any attempts which it might make, either openly or covertly against his faith. He had a wholesome old time dislike, too, for revolutionary methods, and was shocked to learn that the new pastor of Detroit had eulogized Washington one Sunday from the pulpit. Such a man could not remain west of the Detroit river; he followed the British flag to its eastern bank in the summer of 1796."[22]

> "Mgr. Hubert had a double motive in offering the curacy of Sainte Anne of Detroit to Mr. Burke, who had asked for it: at first it was to satisfy him if it were possible; then to render a service to the Bishop of Baltimore, who, being short of priests like the Bishop of Quebec, had asked the latter to leave him the two who happened to be in his territory to the west of Detroit River. Mr. Frechette, who had asked insistently for his recall, was not refused. As to Mr. Burke, Mgr. Hubert had every ground

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[20] Dilhet-Browne, *Beginnings of the Catholic Church in the United States,* Washington, D. C., 1922, pp. 120-121. Cfr. Maes, *Catholic Church in Monroe City,* n. d., pp. 3-5.

[21] Archives de l'Évêché de Québec, Cahier "Detroit," 1795.

[22] O'Brien, *op. cit.,* p. 27.

for believing that he would prefer to remain on the American side, since on two occasions during his stay in Quebec he had asked to go there to evangelize the people, who, according to Mgr. Troy's statement, had been without missionaries since the conquest. The first time he addressed himself to Rome, as is well known, through Mgr. Troy as intermediary, giving clear evidence of his desire to carry the cross to that region. The second time he addressed himself directly to Mgr. Carroll. During his stay in the West, he obtained on request a rescript from Rome permitting him to exercise an episcopal function, that of giving confirmation. All this without having notified his Ordinary. He took a dislike to those Yankees, as he disdainfully called them. The reason was that they did not wish to see any more of him."[23]

Discussing this subject, Shea says: "The strange confusion caused by the English occupation of Michigan may be seen in the fact that the Very Reverend Mr. Burke, on withdrawing from Detroit, wrote to Bishop Carroll to urge him to send two priests, and he offered to give them faculties, as though Bishop Carroll had not power to give faculties in his own diocese. We have seen the effort made through the Archbishop of Dublin [Dr. Troy] to create a jurisdiction independent of Quebec, Baltimore, and Louisiana. It was not the only project of the kind. Another was actually carried out at Rome [the colony at Gallipolis]. The Congregation de Propaganda Fide, at the very moment when the diocese of Baltimore had been erected with limits coterminous with those of the United States, was led into steps which threatened to increase confusion in the West, where order was most required."[24]

There are several other "fragments" which refer to Father Burke's career in the West that should be made available to students of American Church history, and they should be gathered up by somebody who has the time and the aptitude to do the work. The later phase of Father Burke's career belongs to his labors in Nova Scotia and lies beyond our conspectus.

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[23] *Mémoire sur les Missions,* p. 131.

[24] *Life of Archbishop Carroll,* p. 480.

OLD VINCENNES

A CHAPTER IN THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE WEST*

I

On February 23, 1779, Post Vincennes on the Wabash was wrested from the British by George Rogers Clark as the climax of a military adventure which stands out as one of the supremely dramatic episodes in American history. Four years later, at the close of the Revolutionary War, Great Britain ceded to her American colonies in the Treaty of Paris, 1783, the whole of what subsequently came to be known as the Old Northwest, roughly, all the land between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi, the Ohio and the Great Lakes, an area represented on today's map by the five great states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and in part Minnesota. Just how much George Rogers Clark's so-called conquest of this territory had to do with the final acquisition of it by the United States at the end of the Revolution has been and continues to be to this moment a matter of lively discussion among the historians.[1] There are certain quarters at least where trouble would be started at once by the rash student of the problem who would venture to suggest, as has been suggested, that it was British generosity and not a situation of sheer necessity created by the military successes of Clark that set the western line of our national domain back to the Mississippi. But if there be divided opinion as to the significance of the young Virginian's exploits as an argument advanced by the American commissioners at Paris, if they advanced it at all, for the cession by Great Britain to the United States of the Northwest Territory, there can be no two opinions as to the heroic character of those exploits in themselves. For all time will live in the memory of the American people the picture of Clark and his handful of Virginia riflemen and Creole volunteers from the Mississippi villages making their way against desperate odds through the winter floods of the Wabash

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[1] C. W. Alvord, "Virginia and the West, an Interpretation," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* 3:19; L. J. Kenny, "George Rogers Clark in Ohio," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* 10:248 ff.; T. Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West;* J. A. James, *George Rogers Clark Papers* (Illinois Historical Coll. Vol. VIII).

Valley to grapple with his Majesty's trained troops and set the stars and stripes flying above one of the most important British positions in the West. In our own day George Rogers Clark has become what the neglect of the young Republic would not suffer him to become in the long years through which he survived his achievements at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, a symbol of American enterprise and pluck, and a national hero of the first rank.

But the purpose of this paper is not to rehearse the achievements of George Rogers Clark. One may read these in Roosevelt's *Winning of the West* or in the recent notable biographies of Clark by Temple Bodley and Professor James or even in such thinly diluted historical narratives as Thompson's *Alice of Old Vincennes* and Winston Churchill's *The Crossing.* The purpose in hand is rather to piece together the few scattered data that survive for the story of Vincennes ecclesiastical beginnings; it is an obscure story at best and one succeeds in the end only in disentangling a meager measure of ascertained fact out of not a little measure of speculation and myth. But before proceeding further one must ascertain, if the thing be possible, when Vincennes actually began to be. Here is, or rather was, a perplexing historical puzzle until recent research succeeded in settling the matter within at least a very close approximation to the truth. Just at what time the Wabash river began to be used by the French as a means of communication between Canada and the Lower Mississippi there is no means of knowing with anything like precision. The Maumee-Wabash route, connecting with Lake Erie on the one hand and the Ohio on the other, was one of what Archer B. Hulbert has called the "five keys of the Continent," by which were unlocked, as it were, as many doors that led from the Valley of the St. Lawrence to that of the Mississippi. LaSalle had penetrated into the Valley of the St. Joseph in what is now northwestern Indiana as early as 1679, and it could not have been long after this date that the Maumee-Wabash route to the southland became known to the French traders and voyageurs. It has been asserted that Vincennes was established in 1690 by some of these early visitors to the Wabash; but the assertion is gratuitous and without any known historical evidence to prop it up. Equally gratuitous is the statement that Vincennes was founded in 1702.

Of all the dates conjectured for the origin of the place, this has had the greatest vogue and it still manages to find its way into reputable works of reference as the *International Encyclopedia* and Harper's *Cyclopedia of United States History.* It is, in fine, the date which the good people of Vincennes would seem to have officially adopted for the birth year of their interesting town, the visitor to which, when he alights from the train, is greeted with a rotary-club bill-board bearing the conspicuous legend, "Vincennes—Founded in 1702. Oldest town in the Northwest Territory." The manner in which this date came to meet with widespread acceptance is an interesting illustration of the readiness with which the public becomes a victim to so-called historical authorities. In Goodrich and Tuttle's *Illustrated History of the State of Indiana,* published in 1875, occurs the statement that in 1702 a Jesuit missionary celebrated Mass on the site of Vincennes with an astonished group of Indians looking on. By way of supporting evidence for this important statement a footnote cites vaguely the "Quebec Annals" without indicating in any manner the nature of this source of information, whether manuscript or print, or the place where it can be found. As there is no means of determining the authenticity or provenance of these cryptic so-called "Quebec Annals," the critical investigator cannot do otherwise than dismiss them as offering no serious evidence of the truth of the statement they are meant to support.[2]

The attempt to confer on the Jesuit Father Jean Mermet the distinction of having been founder of Vincennes has also come to grief. Even so reputable an historian as Justin Winsor wrote in his *Mississippi Basin* that "Vincennes had been founded on the Wabash by Father Mermet."[3] The evidence on which Judge Law and others after him sought to make out a case for the Jesuit as the creator (as early as 1710) on the site of Vincennes of a mission out of which the town subsequently grew is set forth by him in his *Colonial History of Vincennes.*[4] Mermet was chaplain at the fort erected by the Sieur Denis de Juchereau at the mouth of the Ohio River in 1701 or 1702, and this fort, noted in contemporary records as having been located on the

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[2] The statement in Goodrich and Tuttle's book is cited by H. Alerding, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Vincennes,* Indianapolis, 1883, p. 34. Bishop Bruté, who wrote articles on western Catholic history for the Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph* would seem to have been the first to give currency to the date 1702 for the origin of Vincennes.

[3] Winsor, *Mississippi Basin,* p. 84.

[4] Law, *The Colonial History of Vincennes,* Vincennes, 1858, p. 12.

Wabash, the original name for the lower course of the Ohio, Judge Law mistakingly transfers to the site of Vincennes. Moreover, in the process a misread letter in the *Jesuit Relations* is made to indicate that Mermet was in residence on the banks of the Indiana Wabash, though there is no evidence whatever in the letter to this effect. There is, then, no documentary proof, contemporary or later, that Father Mermet or any other Jesuit was in residence in the Vincennes region at any time in the first three decades of the eighteenth century. The theory connecting Vincennes with a Jesuit mission at so early a date took its start, then, in a misconception of the term Ouabache or Wabash, which in early eighteenth century cartography was applied not only to the Wabash River of today, but also to the section of the Ohio lying between the mouth of the Wabash and the Mississippi.

In more recent investigation of Vincennes beginnings three studies are outstanding, J. P. Dunn, "The Mission to the Wabash," (1902), Pierre Georges Roy, "The Sieur de Vincennes Identified," (1916), and Paul Phillips, "French Colonial Policy in Vincennes," (1920).[5] As a result of these carefully documented studies based upon previously unpublished material from the French Government Archives in Paris, the Provincial Archives in Quebec, and other sources it is now established that Vincennes owes its origin to the younger Vincennes, who under a commission from the Louisiana government built a fort on the site early in the fourth decade of the eighteenth century. It could not have been before "late in 1732 or early in 1733," writes Professor Phillips, "that the foundations for the new establishment were laid."[6] The earliest military post in Indiana appears to have been Fort Wayne, founded in 1722,[7] though an earlier date, 1719 or 1720 has been assigned to Fort Ouiatenon among the Ouiatenon or Wea (a Miami sub-tribe) settled close to the site of the present Lafayette, Indiana, on the Wabash.[8] Here among the Ouiatenon, Vincennes was in command some four years before he built the post that later took his name. "The Ouiatenons have been led from the Government of Canada into the Government of Louisiana," it is stated in an official communication of date, 1728.[9] Though this would seem to indicate that Vincennes was started earlier than 1732-1733, the period fixed upon by Professor Phillips for its origin, contemporary official sources appear to indicate that the construction of the Fort must have fallen sometime between the limit of the period named.

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[5] Dunn's study appeared in the *Indiana Historical Society Publications,* vol. 2, Roy's in the same serial, vol. 7, and Phillips's in the *Indiana Magazine of History,* vol. 10.

[6] Paul Phillips, *Indiana Magazine of History,* 10(1920):323.

[7] Roy, "Sieur de Vincennes Identified," *Indiana Historical Society Publications,* 7(1916):4.

[8] Oscar J. Craig, "Ouiatenon, a Study in Indiana History," *Indiana Hist. Soc. Publ.,* 2(No. 8):316.

The founder of Vincennes was François Bissot, son of Jean Baptist Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes, the title deriving from a Canadian seigneury, which had come into possession of the family. Both the older and younger Vincennes were in the French military service and at the same time. As early as 1698 Vincennes Sr. had come down from Canada in company with Tonti and the party of priests of the Foreign Missions who were to evangelize the Mississippi River tribes and found Cahokia. Vincennes Jr. had for godfather his uncle, François Margane, whose family name he apparently sometimes bore. Margane in the course of time became metamorphosed into Morgan and so the story became current that the founder of Vincennes was an Irishman, imposing even upon good Bishop Bruté and later writers on Vincennes origins.

II

The date of origin of Vincennes may accordingly be taken as fairly fixed, the erection of the fort around which the village subsequently grew belonging, as already said, to the period 1732-1733. If one now proceeds to determine the earliest association of the Church with Vincennes, little in the way of documentary evidence will be found to lean upon. First, let a word be said about the project maintained over a period of years in French governmental circles to provide Jesuit missionaries for the Wabash. Reference to the Wabash (Ouabache) River in contemporary records, it may be repeated, are not necessarily to be understood of the Wabash of today, on which Vincennes is situated. They may, unless the context definitely restricts the meaning otherwise, be also understood of the Ohio, which in its lower course (i. e. from the mouth of the Wabash to the Mississippi), was also known as the Wabash. At any rate, as early as 1716, Crozat, who held the first commercial monopoly of Louisiana by a special grant from the French Crown, suggested that the Jesuits furnish missionaries for the Wabash.[10] Later, in 1724, under Law's Company of the Indies, to which had been ceded the commercial exploitation of Louisiana, provision to the extent of six hundred livres was made for a "missionary at the Wabash post when it shall be established." In 1725 the same Company in answer to a petition from the Jesuit Superior agreed to subsidize a number of missionaries, among them one at the Wabash. Again, in 1726 the Company signified its willingness to station a priest at "the fort which will be established on the Wabash." Finally, in the fall or winter of 1727 Father D'Outreleau was appointed first resident priest of "the Wabash mission," by which time the name of the river had probably come to be applied to the Wabash of today. He embarked at New Orleans with the materials for a house and church, but his boat ran into ice above the Arkansas and all the cargo was lost, the priest barely escaping with his life. Father Nicholas de Beaubois, Superior of the Louisiana Mission, estimated the loss at six thousand livres and asked the Company for compensation. Perier, Governor of Louisiana, suggested that the compensation be fixed at 2500 livres and that in the meantime, pending the actual payment of the sum to the Society of Jesus, the Superior, de Beaubois, be relieved of the necessity of sending a missionary to the Wabash. D'Outreleau after his mishap was sent to the Chicasaw but in 1729 was still listed in the Jesuit register as attached to the Wabash. The project, however, of sending a missionary to the northern river appears to have been subsequently dropped and in a list of Jesuit missionaries of date 1731 no mention is made of the Wabash. However, in 1734, by which time Vincennes had established his post on the lower Wabash, mention occurs in an official communication of that date of the presence of a Jesuit missionary at the post. "Father de Guienne," wrote Governor Bienville and his intendant Salmon in a joint letter to the French Foreign Minister, "is now on the Wabash where he has gone to wait instructions from his Superiors. It would be proper to have a Missionary at this post and we have asked Father de Beaubois to have him remain there until we have received an answer from your Highness." Father Xavier de Guienne, who had come to Vincennes from Kaskaskia, is thus the first priest definitely known to have visited Vincennes. Eight years later, Tanguay's *Repetoire General du Clerge Français* being the only available authority for the statement, the Recollect Pacôme Legrand was chaplain to the troops at Vincennes, and while returning thence died at Niagara, October 6, 1742.[11]

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[9] Cited in Roy, *op. cit.*

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[10] For data embodied in this paragraph cf. Phillips, *loc. cit.* Some unpublished Jesuit registers have also been utilized by the writer of this paper.

Meantime the founder of Vincennes had passed from the scene in as tragic an episode as one may read in the story of the New World. In a war against the Chickasaw of the South plans were laid to crush the enemy between two forces, one advancing from the South under Governor Bienville, another consisting of some fifty Frenchmen and a thousand Illinois Indians advancing from the North under the gallant M. Diron d'Artaguiette accompanied by Vincennes. As chaplain of the latter army went Father Anthony Senat of the missionary staff of Kaskaskia. Bienville delayed to appear at the rendezvous, but the Illinois Indians, unwilling to await his arrival, fell impatiently upon the Chickasaw with disastrous result. In the ensuing defeat D'Artaguiette was taken captive, a fate which also befell both Vincennes, who was unwilling to abandon his commander, and the Jesuit, who stayed behind to minister to the dying soldiers. All three were burnt together at the stake on or within a few days of May 26, 1736, near the town of Pontotoc, Pontotoc County, Mississippi.[12] Already a movement is on its way looking to the beatification by the Church of Father Senat, who thus bedewed with his blood the soil of one of our Southern states, while posterity will likewise treasure up the memory of D'Artaguiette and his intrepid companions in death, especially François Buisson Sieur de Vincennes. "His (Vincennes's) name," says Bancroft in his stirring recital of the tragedy, "will be perpetuated as long as the Wabash flows by the dwelling of civilized man."[13]

As far as contemporary records indicate, Vincennes's first resident priest was Father Sebastian Louis Meurin, who began his missionary career in the Illinois Country in 1742. At all events the extant church records of St. Francis Xavier in Vincennes begin under date of April 21, 1749, with an entry of the marriage of Julien Trottier des Rivieres and Josette Marie, the officiating priest being Meurin. "I the undersigned missionary of the company of Jesus performing the functions of pastor have received the mutual consent of marriage and have given them the nuptial benediction with the ceremonies prescribed by Holy Church in the presence of Monsieur de S.Ange, Lieutenant of a company of detached marines, Commandant at Post Vincennes, of Jean Baptiste Guilbert . . . . witnesses, who have signed with me, S. L. Meurin, Jesuit."[14] The long line of Catholic pastors at Vincennes begins accordingly with Sebastian Louis Meurin, who was destined to be the last surviving eighteenth-century member of his Order in the valley of the Mississippi. He was followed at St. Francis Xavier's by Fathers Du Jaunay, (1752-), Vivier (1753-1756) and Devernai (1756-1763). With Devernai, whose final entry in the church records bears date October 24, 1763, the Jesuit succession of pastors at Post Vincennes came to an end.[15] At New Orleans the Superior Council of Louisiana issued under date of July 9, 1763, a decree suppressing the Society of Jesus in Louisiana on various grounds, the truth of which no one could seriously maintain. The decree was executed under circumstances of exceptional severity, not to say brutality, the property (then in British territory) of the missionaries being confiscated, and the missionaries themselves ejected from their homes, despatched as prisoners to New Orleans and thence, Fathers Baudoin and Meurin excepted, deported to France. The scenes of violence enacted at Kaskaskia in the execution of the decree were repeated at Vincennes. All Jesuit property was seized and the person of the resident pastor, Father Devernai, taken into custody. He was in infirm health but was forced notwithstanding to make the painful overland journey to Kaskaskia and there join the party of his fellow Jesuits who were sent as prisoners to New Orleans.

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[11] Shea, *Hist. of the Catholic Church in the United States,* 1:578.

[12] Camille de Rochemonteix, S. J., *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au Siecle XVIII,* Paris, vol. II.

James J. O'Brien, S. J., *Our Louisiana and Mississippi Martyrs,* New Orleans, 1928.

[13] G. Bancroft, *History of the United States,* Boston, 1852, 3:368.

Thus ended in tragedy the period of Jesuit administration of St. Francis Xavier on the Wabash as the mission had been named some time prior to 1763. In a letter of March 23, 1767, Father Meurin, who had been allowed by the New Orleans authorities to return to the Illinois Country, wrote from Kaskaskia to Bishop Briand of Quebec:

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[14] Charles Metzger, S. J., "Sebastian Meurin," *Illinois Catholic Historical Society,* 3(1921):241 ff. The Vincennes church registers are published in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* 12(1901):41 ff. (Hereafter cited as RACHS).

[15] RACHS, 12:203.

> "Post Vincennes on the Wabash among the Miami Piankashaw is as large as our best villages here and has still greater need of a missionary. Disorder has always been great there, but it has increased in the last three years. Some come here to be married or make their Easter duties. The majority do not wish to nor can they do it. The guardian of the church there (M. Philibert) publishes the banns for three Sundays; to those who wish to come here he gives a certificate of publication without opposition which I myself republish before marrying them. Those who do not wish to come declare in a loud voice in the church their mutual consent. Can such a marriage be permitted? Since there is no exception to the formal decree of the Holy Council of Trent on the reformation of marriage I pray you instruct me."[16]

III

Some two years later than Meurin's appeal for spiritual aid on behalf of Vincennes it welcomed a priest in the person of Father Pierre Gibault, the first to minister to its inhabitants after the departure of the Jesuits. Pierre Gibault was of Canadian stock, having been born at Montreal April 7, 1737.[17] Ordained at thirty-one, he was immediately assigned to the Western missions, first laboring for a spell at Mackinac and then making his way to the Illinois country where he arrived late in 1768. Here the ardent young clergyman threw himself with energy into the absorbing tasks of the ministry. "I would consider myself fortunate," Meurin, the Vicar General, wrote to the Bishop of Quebec, June 11, 1770, "if at his age, I had his virtues and merits." Vincennes, of all the Illinois missions, was most in need of spiritual aid. Scarcely arrived at Kaskaskia, where Meurin had taken up his residence, Gibault informed Bishop Briand in a letter of February 15, 1769: "Disorders are many there. . . This portion of your flock is terribly exposed to wolves especially at Post Vincennes, where there is a considerable number of people who are much better able to support a priest than in the place where I am."[19] Later, June 15 of the same year, Gibault wrote again to the Bishop: "I have not been to Post Vincennes because during the winter I had the fever common to this country, and since the opening of spring, as the Indians had taken and killed several persons on the route which is 80 leagues long, my parishioners have been unwilling to let me go. If your Lordship wish to save your priest and to provide for the salvation of your people, the way to do so would be to send two more priests to this section—one to Post Vincennes where there are a number of people and where he would be able to look after very many other posts, and the other to the Tamarois [Cahokia]."[20]

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[16] *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* 3:376.

[17] On Gibault cf. Charles G. Herberman, Ph. D., and Henry F. Herberman, A. B., *Historical Records and Studies,* vol. 6, Part II, 1912; Pauline Lancaster Peyton, "Pierre Gibault, Priest and Patriot of the Northwest in the Eighteenth Century," RACHS, 12:452-498; C. W. Alvord, *American Historical Review,* 14:544 ff.; J. Thompson, *Ill. Catholic Historical Review, passim.*

[18] RACHS, 20:419.

[19] *Idem,* 20:410.

At length in the beginning of 1770 Gibault undertook his long premeditated visit to Vincennes along the route infested for two years back by hostile Chickasaw and Cherokee. "I must tell you, that whenever I start upon a journey I always go armed with a gun and two pistols so as to prevent the Indians from attacking me when they see me so well armed—for they fear nothing more than to lose one of their numbers—and even for the purpose of defending myself if I should be attacked."[21] At Vincennes the population turned out *en masse* to welcome Gibault. "During the nearly twenty-seven years," he informs his bishop, "that it (Post Vincennes) has been deprived of priests everything has deteriorated. Libertinage and irreligion have been introduced; nevertheless when I arrived everybody came in a crowd to meet me at the banks of the river Ouabache. Some threw themselves upon their knees and were quite unable to speak; others spoke only by their sobs; some cried out, 'Father, save us, we are nearly in hell'; others said: 'God has not utterly abandoned us, for it is He who has sent you to us to make us do penance for our sins'; and others again exclaimed: 'Ah, Sir, why did you not come a month ago, then my poor wife, my dear father, my loved mother, my poor child would not have died without the sacraments. . . ' What a happiness it is for me to try to make reparation for time too badly employed in my youth by the occasion that God now gives me to employ it well. The only thing that troubles me is that I cannot travel especially in this direction without being liable at any moment to have my scalp taken off by the Indians."[22] Father Gibault's return journey to his parish at Kaskaskia was not without stirring incident. "I came back from Vincennes after a two months' stay there accompanied by twenty picked men. We were followed by several bands of Indians during the entire journey of between 80 and 100 leagues, but we put up such a good front and took so many precautions that in spite of having to cross rivers and pass through woods they never dared to attack us."[23] Father Gibault subsequently made missionary trips on occasion, as in 1771 and 1773, to Vincennes, which remained without a resident pastor from 1763 until the beginning of 1785, when he himself took the parish in hand retaining it until October, 1789, and then withdrawing to Cahokia. A letter of his to Bishop Briand written from Vincennes June 6, 1786, pictures local spiritual conditions:

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[20] *Idem,* 20:412.
[21] *Idem,* 20:416.
[22] *Idem,* 20:414.

> ". . . I have enough confidence in God to hope to banish in a little while barbarianism from the Post Vincennes whose inhabitants, especially the young people, have had no religious instruction during twenty-two years except during my short missionary visits and those of Mr. Payet. They have been raised like the savages in the midst of whom they live. I had and still have catechism classes for them twice a day, after Mass and in the evening before sundown. When the lesson is over, I dismiss the girls and teach the boys the responses at Mass and the ceremonies of the Church for feasts and Sundays. I preach on Sundays and holidays as often as possible. In a word, I have been here a year and a half, and when I came I found no person, adult or child, who could serve Mass except one European, who was not always able to come; then, no Mass. Two months after my arrival I had several; and now the smallest boy in the village knows not only how to serve Mass, but also the ceremonies of festivals and Sundays and the entire catechism small and large. . . I should not have been successful in building a church in this post if the inhabitants of the Kahokias had not sent a courier to me with a request from all the parish that I would attend it and offering me great advantages. The inhabitants of Post Vincennes, justly fearful lest I abandon them, unanimously resolved to build a church ninety feet long by forty-two wide, of frame with a stone foundation. A portion of the wood is already hauled and a quantity of stone for the foundation. It will be only seventeen feet high, but the winds in this country are so strong that it is high enough for stability. The house, which at present serves as a church, will do me for a presbytery and I hope to occupy it in a few months. The land attached is extensive, very dry and in the centre of the village. It was I and the trustees who acquired it about sixteen years ago. I beg of you to give your approval to the building of this new church under the title of St. Francis Xavier on the Ouabache."[24]

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[23] *Idem,* 20:417.

[24] *Idem,* 20:426.

IV

On July 4, 1778, two years to a day after the American Declaration of Independence, George Rogers Clark, a young Virginian patriot, who had cherished a dream of driving the British from the Mississippi and the Ohio back into Canada, entered Kaskaskia at the head of a small troop of venturesome frontiersmen. Father Gibault was on the ground and shared his parishoners' relief when Clark assembled them before the village church and there assured them that they would continue to enjoy the same freedom in the exercise of their religion that had been theirs under the British flag. Moreover, news of the French alliance was promptly communicated by Clark to the Kaskaskians, who only fifteen years before had reluctantly passed from the jurisdiction of France to that of Great Britain, and this news was not the least of the circumstances calculated to win their sympathy for the American cause. Father Gibault himself, if we can credit Clark's account, was inclined to favor the revolutionary cause even before the Americans arrived at Kaskaskia. At all events he now lent it, at least as far as all outward appearances went, his unqualified support, and this in so decisive a fashion that Judge John Law did not hesitate to say in oft-quoted words that "next to Clark and Vigo the United States are indebted more to Father Gibault for the accession of the states comprised in what was the original Northwest Territory than to any other man."[25] Clark's position at Kaskaskia was insecure as long as Vincennes, some two hundred miles to the east, remained in British hands. Here Father Gibault enters the story. In a conference with Clark to which he had been summoned he advised against any military offensive against Vincennes, declaring himself ready to go, if so permitted, and there win over the citizens to the American side. "M. Jeboth [Gibault] the priest," wrote Clark to George Mason a year and a half after the incident, "to fully convince me of his attachment offered to undertake to win that Town for me if I would permit him and let a few of them go; they made no doubt of gaining their friends at St. Vincent's [Vincennes] to my interest; the priest told me he would go himself and gave me to understand that although he had nothing to do with temporal business that he would give them such hints in the spiritual way that it would be very conductive to business; in a few days the priest and Dr.

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[25] Law, *Colonial History of Vincennes,* p. 55.

Doct'r LeFont [Laffont], the Principal, with a few others set out with a proclamation I sent for the purpose and other instructions in case of success—in a few weeks they returned with intelligence agreeable to my wishes."[26] A fuller account of the affair is embodied by Clark in a Memoir written in 1791 or later at the instance of President Jefferson.

That Gibault undertook his mission to Vincennes in an official capacity as Clark's agent there is no reasonable ground to doubt. The horse he rode was paid for by Clark, who also defrayed the entire cost of the mission.[27] In the bill of expenses presented by the latter to Virginia, the expedition in the West having been sponsored by Virginia alone and not by the Continental Congress, occurs the item: "M. Gibault, Laffont's expenses in taking possession of Post Vincennes in 1779, $657.00."[28] Again, Clark stated in his instructions to Dr. Laffont, the official head of the expedition, "You will act in concert with M. Le Curé, who I trust will prepare the inhabitants to agree to your demands."[29] Moreover, that Gibault rendered at Vincennes precisely the services which Clark had expected of him is evidenced by Clark's own words in his letter to Mason as also by the circumstance that the American commander promptly communicated to Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia the success of the priest's intervention, for which the latter was soon to receive the formal thanks of the Governor.[30] Again, and this is a circumstance the significance of which writers on the subject have somehow overlooked, Clark, as he so declared, sent along a spy to watch Gibault and Laffont and so was not dependent on their own testimony or information as to how they acquitted themselves of their commission.[31] Still again, Gibault when memorializing Congress for a grant of land, alleged his services in the taking of Vincennes, "which are not unknown to you."[32] Finally, in British military circles in Canada it was generally understood that Father Gibault was the chief agent in bringing about the surrender of Vincennes to the Americans, General Haldimand threatening to hang him if ever he should fall into his hands.

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[26] *Illinois Historical Collections,* 8:122.

[27] *Idem,* 19:256.

[28] *Idem,* 19:264.

[29] *Historical Records and Studies,* 6(1912), Part II:150.

[30] *Illinois Hist. Coll.,* 8:80, 87.

[31] W. H. English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio,* 1778-1783, Indianapolis, 18, 1:487.

[32] *Hist. Records and Studies,* 6(1912), part II: 151.

All the evidence therefore points to the fact that Gibault did play an effective rôle in the surrender of Vincennes and it is on the basis of the historical reality of this rôle that he has acquired national fame as the so-called "patriot-priest."

In the light of all this it is surprising to find that Father Gibault not only in later years (in a letter to Bishop Briand presently to be cited), but also immediately on his return in the August of 1778 to Kaskaskia after the surrender of Vincennes, disclaimed any participation whatever in the affair. "With regard to the inhabitants of Post Vincennes, whom according to report heard in Canada I persuaded to commit perjury," he wrote to Bishop Briand June 6, 1786, "perhaps the residents themselves in order to escape from trouble with their Governor Henry Hamilton put all the blame on me and perhaps he himself and the officers invented the story that people so ignorant could have been won over persuaded only by me, advancing this supposition to shield their mistake by shifting all responsibility to my shoulders. The truth is that not having been at Post Vincennes for a long time, when I saw the opportunity to go with Mr. Laffont who had a large company, I took advantage of it to do my missionary work. Had I interfered in so important a matter my hand writing would have appeared in some document and other proofs would be given than such phrases as, it is said or it is reported to me."[33] In the attestation made by Laffont at Kaskaskia August 7, 1778, we read: "he [Gibault] has begged me to add that . . . in all civil matters not only with the French but with the savages he meddled with nothing because he was not ordered to do so and it is opposed to his priestly vocation and that I alone had the direction of affairs, he having confined himself towards both [nations, i. e. French and savages] solely to exhortation tending towards peace and union and to the prevention of bloodshed . . . the temporal affairs I alone was intrusted [with]."[34] Finally, Gibault in a communication of later date to his bishop, May 22, 1788, declares: "with regard to the objection or the fear that I have been or was inclined towards the American Republic, you have only to read over my first letter in which I give an account of our capture and my last letter where I sent you a testimonial regarding my behavior at Post Vincennes, in the capture of which I was said to be implicated, and you will see not only that I did not interfere at all but that on the contrary I have always missed and will always miss the gentleness of British rule."[35]

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[33] *Idem,* 6(1912), *loc. cit.*
[34] *Idem,* 6(1912), *loc. cit.*

Apparently contradictory claims are thus made by Father Gibault and it is difficult, though the attempt has been made, to maintain that his stand was a consistent one throughout. When appealing to Congress for a grant of land he alleged the services rendered by him in the taking of Vincennes. When writing to his bishop, a staunch supporter of British rule, to be allowed to return to Canada, he disavows any part whatever in the incident and declares himself to have been always British in sympathy and sentiment. No attempt need here be made to reconcile Gibault's inconsistencies nor to discuss the reasons that may be alleged to explain them. What is more to the point is to ascertain whether he really had the intimate and outstanding share in the first taking of Vincennes with which he has been credited and still continues to be credited at once in popular tradition and written history. That he did have such intimate and outstanding share appears, as was pointed out a moment ago, to be perfectly well established by contemporary evidence of the utmost weight, nor is the probative value of this evidence undone in any serious way by testimony in an opposite sense rendered by Gibault himself. Further, and this is capital in the whole matter, the grounds on which the name of Father Gibault appeals to grateful remembrance in American history remain undisturbed. George Rogers Clark lived to see the day when he could play with disloyalty to these United States, yet the circumstance is not felt to invalidate in any manner his claim to the gratitude of the American people for the share he had in the acquisition of the Northwest Territory.[36]

V

After four years of pastorship in Vincennes Gibault had withdrawn in 1789 to Cahokia. Again was the Wabash settlement left without the ministrations of a resident priest, this situation continuing until the arrival in 1792 of Benedict Flaget, the future Bishop of Bardstown, a name to conjure with in the chronicle of Catholic beginnings in the Old Northwest. Flaget retiring in 1796, his place was worthily taken by François Rivet, the first Catholic Indian missionary in the West to draw a Government salary. Father Rivet was a remarkable man, brimful of piety and zeal and capable of impressing his non-Catholic neighbors, such as William Henry Harrison, later President of the United States, who wished to secure the priest's personal services as tutor to his son.[37] When he came to die, Father Gabriel Richard penned these lines to Bishop Carroll, May 1, 1804: "A loss that will be felt long by the inhabitants of Vincennes, a loss perhaps incomparable, the worthy and extremely zealous Mr. Rivet is dead this last winter. He died as he had lived excessively poor and extensively regretted by his parishoners, who some of them had never before appreciated his value, never rewarded his merits. I had often lamented with Mr. Levadoux that a priest of so extensive talents and whose virtue and zeal were superior to his abilities, should have been confined in so small a country. Having been professor of rhetoric in France he knew perfectly well all the means of convincing minds and further possessed to a degree extremely rare that natural eloquence that reaches to the heart."[38] After Rivet followed at Vincennes a line of zealous pastors, some of them as Rosati and Nerinckx, figures of note in the ecclesiastical history of the West, the line reaching its climax in Simon William Gabriel Bruté, first Bishop of Vincennes, ascetic, litterateur, educator, and tireless worker in the ministry, a man destined to remain for all time a figure of interest and charm in the epic story of Catholic pioneer development in the United States.

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[35] *Idem,* 6(1912), *loc. cit.*

[36] The circumstances of Gibault's death are obscure. That he died early in 1804 at New Madrid, Missouri, is stated by Father Gabriel Richard in a letter to Carroll, May 11, 1804. Baltimore Archdiocesan Archives.

But the purpose of this paper is now achieved, which was merely to sketch on its religious side the story of Vincennes beginnings as a counterpart of the stirring secular events, the sesquicentennial commemoration of which early in this current year (1929) has brought the historic Indiana town into national prominence if it did not possess that distinction before. With the completion of the George Rogers Clark Memorial, work on which is expected to start in the summer of 1930, one will see at Vincennes a new national shrine comparable to the Lincoln Memorial at Washington. The old Cathedral of St. Francis Xavier dating from Bishop Bruté's time and treasuring in its crypt his mortal remains will be preserved as the centerpiece of this design with a memorial of Pierre Gibault rising in the foreground. Superb concrete highways already link up the historic town on the Wabash with the rest of the country and in the years to come will bear an ever increasing burden of pilgrims hastening to view the great artistic shrine which architects and builders are preparing to rear in memory of Clark's achievement. At last the significance of the acquisition of the Northwest Territory is being brought home to the consciousness of the nation. An event that gave us or helped to give us the five great states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota in part, and opened the way for territorial advance to the Pacific surely ought not to be forgotten, as President Coolidge pointed out in his message to Congress recommending a million-dollar appropriation for a memorial. It is interesting to recall that in the particular event commemorated, which was the passing of Vincennes from British to American hands February 25, 1779, the old Jesuit mission church of St. Francis Xavier came to figure in an unexpected way. Major Hamilton, the British Commandant, wished to negotiate the terms of the surrender at the fort, but Clark, as he tells us in his *Memoir,* insisted that the affair take place "at the Church," which arrangement was carried out. Here, then, under the shadow of the old log church, if not actually within its enclosure, was enacted a scene of which nobody then foresaw the implications, but the tremendous import of which may now be realized as one looks back through the perspective of the years. On the pages that tell the dramatic story of our national birth and growth St. Francis Xavier's on the Wabash has come to be "writ large."

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[37] Rivet à Carroll, February 10, 1801. Baltimore Archdiocesan Archives.

[38] Baltimore Archdiocesan Archives.

St. Louis University GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

DOCUMENTS

SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS*

I

Vancouver 30 June, 1845

To

The Revd Father De Smet

Revd and Dear father

I was so Busy from the time I received your last till the Revd fathers Nobili and Ravalli left that I had not time to acknowledge it and to Return you my Best thanks for your Kind Remembrance and to assure you of my Best Wishes wherever you [are] and to Request your kind Remembrance of me in your prayers and as I may perhaps go to Europe this fall (But this you will please mention to no one as I have not done so as yet myself) and what I can serve you please command me.[1]

With this you will perhaps hear of the melancholy fate of my poor son in Law W G Rae who was in charge of our affairs at S Francisco[2]—the poor fellow in consequence of my not having sent a Vessel there the two Last years what it was out of my power [to do]—felt Disappointed and which feeling was increased by Capt. Barller[?] forgeting to Deliver him last fall a letter he had from me for my late son in law—and [this?] led him to Believe he was neglected and had Displeased me—add to this he joined the first Mexican insurrection—and when the second broke out the Californians had to retreat to the South—Poor Rae thinking all was lost and that the Hudson Bay Company's property would be seized by the Mexicans and that the

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*The originals of the following hitherto unpublished letters are in the archives of St. Louis University, St. Louis. Excepting the last, they are all addressed to Father Peter De Smet, S. J., the well-known missionary-traveller of the frontier period of the West.

[1] John McLoughlin, Oregon's representative in Statuary Hall, the Capitol, Washington, has been appraised as the most commanding figure in the pioneer history of the Pacific Northwest. Cf. Frederick V. Holman, *Dr. John McLoughlin, Father of Oregon,* Cleveland, 1907. Subsequently to 1842 he openly professed Catholicism. As to his religious affiliations before that date there has been some discussion. Cf. O'Hara, *Pioneer History of the Church in Oregon,* p. 139.

[2] William Glen Rae, whose death occurred January 19, 1845, married Eloisa, Dr. McLoughlin's "favorite child." Holman, *op. cit.,* p. 24. The circumstances of Rae's suicide are detailed in Bancroft, *History of California,* 4:593.

Hudson Bay Company would Blame him—in Despair shot himself in the Head—But this affects me so much that I cannot write and again with Best Wishes and fervent prayers that our Heavenly Father may protect you and Bless your pious Endeavor to promote the cause of our holy Religion Believe me to Be

Yours sincerely
J[oh]n McLoughlin

My Best Respects to Your Worthy Colleagues.

If you want cattle write to Mr. Fraser at Fort Colville. I have written him to sell you all he can spare

J McLoughlin.

II

St. Louis, May 20th 1857.

Rev. & Dear Sir,

I take the liberty of addressing you this short notice before my departure to my agency among the Blackfeet Indians upon a subject of vital importance to their welfare as well as to the advancement of civilization. I have, as you well know, been an agent of the United States Government among the savages Indians for fifteen years and during that time I have observed that nothing else contributed more to their civilization and to bringing them to a position of peace and quiet than the efforts of Christians to establish among them missions and schools for their education in spiritual and temporal matters. And I, moreover, take pleasure in bearing testimony to the uniform success in that matter, of the Church of which you are a useful member. I have witnessed with much pleasure the success of the Catholic missionaries in taming the savage impulses of those Indians with whom it has been my lot to become associated within the past fifteen years. Knowing this fact it is the object of this note to obtain your intercession for the procurment of a mission from your Church to the Blackfeet Indians to whom I have been lately sent as resident agent by the general government. I know of none to whom I could apply with more certainty for obtaining the desired object, hence I trouble you. I verily believe that the interests of this government and the interests of the Indians would be vastly advanced by such an establishment. Hoping that my desires in this respect may be gratified I am, sir, with much respect,

Yr. obedient servant,
Alfred I. Vaughan
Agt. Blackfeet Indians.

P. S. You are of course aware that ample provision has been made for the purpose alluded to above by our government in its treaty with those Indians, at the Judith in the Blackfeet country.

Alf. I. Vaughan

III

Independence July 20th 1860.

To Father De Smet.

It is several months since I received from you a very excellent and charming letter. Although I have since had the pleasure to see you, I have postponed an answer until now because I wish to submit to your clear and cultivated judgment a small volume containing in a very condensed form my reflections upon a wonderful portion of the world, which, once seen has inflamed your permanent enthusiasm equally as my own. To this volume I have given the name of the "Central Gold Region" and I regard it valuable for the maps by which it is illustrated. It is published by E. H. Woodward of St. Louis.

It is necessary for me to require of you to inflict upon yourself the task to read it throughout. I attach a chief gravity to the judgment which you may pronounce upon it because, as you were my predecessor in the region of which it treats, so it has been from your oracular delineations that my boyhood took fire and burned with an irrepressible ambition to penetrate to a complete comprehension of this superlative portion of our country.

I can now also recur again, under auspicious hopes, to what I fear, that I have already obtruded upon your patient ear jusqu' au nausea; the cause of education in our young city under the protecting influence of your church. I enclose you a map delineating what is our purpose—to condense into economical form the elements of a great city [Denver] which we already possess. Two railroads, converging here—one from St. Louis and the other from Chicago—are now under such active construction that they will be completed in a few months. The reflection from the gold region is becoming very beneficially felt and that propitious moment approaches, such as you have seen come to St. Louis twenty years since and more recently at Chicago and San Francisco, namely the building of a great city upon the track of empire toward the West. We have already accumulated the essential elements out of which such cities grow under the energies of the people and to attract thither those effective energies is our aim and religious purpose, especially in the element of education.

May we not congratulate one another that those magnificent countries of the great Mountains, of which *you* were the *first* to speak and write with the enthusiasm of truth, have now, in so short a time, become the very arena of fashion and prospective empire! As you have been so preeminently a pioneer in directing the tide of intelligent progress in the wilderness I implore you to remember that there remains a still more delicate and sacred mission. This is the judicious location and growth of cities. In these reside the influences which perpetuate morality, learning, liberty and religion. As empire grows it owes to cities its grade of intelligence, civilization and perpetuity. I beg you to appreciate then the zeal which I express for "Centropolis" and the high estimate that I place upon its future. Think that I have higher aspirations than those which spring from local prejudice or individual profit. That my judgment of its superlative excellence as a geographical site *may* be the true one. Above all, let me touch your heart in our favor and attract for us your active zeal and benevolence!

Accept for yourself my sincere and constant friendship and respect.

W. Gilpin.[3]

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[3] William Gilpin (1822-1894), first territorial governor of Colorado (1861-1862). "At the time the Pacific Railway was thought by many to be a chimerical project, Gov. Gilpin did much to advance the idea with tongue and pen." *National Cyclopedia of American Biography,* 6:445. "Gilpin was designed by his maker for a man of mark. Full six feet in height, of a slight frame and nervous temperament, with a fine head and expressive eyes, rather military bearing with French gestures, he was enthusiastic while his shrewdness and his courtesy were sometimes overshadowed by his generalizations. Said one of his friends to me, 'there never was a man like him and there never will be another.'" Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming,* p. 414.

IV

Headquarters Military Division of the Mississippi
St. Louis, Apl 9, 1866

Father De Smet,
Dear Sir,

I learned last night of Mrs. Sherman and Major Turner that in consequence of the leaving the other morning of some steamboat, [?] you have concluded to start at once today for the Mountains. I may not see you again and therefore send you an open letter which you asked for.

I am sorry that I cannot promise you as much as I would, but you can appreciate what I say. At this moment we have only a few regular troops in the region whither you go and the Regular Army is so small that this year we cannot attempt as much as we would. There are now under orders Regular troops for Randall, Rice, Sully (Fort Pierre[?]), Berthoud [Berthold] and Union,—along the Missouri. We also have the Platte Valley Road well guarded and stocked as far as Laramie; then there will be a road along the East base of the Mountains by the head of Powder River and Yellowstone to the mining settlements of Montana. Along this road there is now Fort Reno on Powder River and two or three more will be established this summer.

We also propose to make a new direct Wagon Road from the direction of Minnesota by the way of the Big Sheyenne, North of the Black hills to Powder River to intersect the other road from Laramie. This Road will also be guarded by two new posts. This is about all we can attempt this year. And you know we must lay the foundation now for the condition of things that will last as long as the Indians are wild and wandering. Next year I suppose we can extend the Routes to & through Montana towards the Pacific Coast. The sooner the Indians can localize and get ready to raise food and horse without wandering in search of buffalo and Game, the better for them. You know as well as I do the difficulties attending this question and may accomplish much good to both sides.

Wishing you health and success in your hazardous and difficult journey I am with great respect

Your friend and Servant
W. T. Sherman
Maj Genl.

V

Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri
Saint Louis, Mo. Mch. 28, 1868.

To the Commanding Officers of Posts.

The bearer of this, Father De Smet, a Catholic priest, long connected with the Missions of the Mountain Indians and well known to you by reputation, is on the point of starting for Fort Rice and the Indian Country thereabouts, by and with the sanction and approval of the War and Interior Departments.[4] Whoever shall see this letter is hereby requested to extend to Father De Smet every courtesy due his exalted character and to furnish him protection and assistance in his mission to the extent of his wants and necessities.

W. T. Sherman
Lt. Genl. Comd.

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[4] For De Smet's peace-mission of 1868 to the Sioux, cf. *Mid-America,* October, 1930.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Outranking, it would appear, all other 1930 publications in the field of American history is Doctor Herbert E. Bolton's five-volume work, *Anza's California Expedition, 1774-1776, and the Founding of San Francisco.* One volume of the five is given to Doctor Bolton's own vigorous narrative of the subject-matter of the work, another to correspondence bearing upon it, while three are filled out with thirteen diaries of the expeditions, all, with a single exception, being here published for the first time in any language. Most notable of the diaries is that of the Franciscan Father, Pedro Font, who, to borrow Bolton's epithet, was "superb" as a chronicler of the things he saw and heard, having at command a really extraordinary talent for graphic and accurate portrayal. Spain's incomparable talent for exploration and settlement, one of the amazing things of history, never spoke more eloquently than in these eighteenth-century treks of Juan Bautista Anza and his followers from out the Spanish borderlands across incredible wastes and over the Sierra Nevada to the Golden Gate. Probably never before has such a mass of previously unpublished historical material of the first order of importance been set at one stroke before the public. Out of it all Anza, the central figure of the entire story, emerges in towering proportions. This hitherto rather obscure individual in the story of the white man's advance to the Pacific leaps overnight into a greatness that sets him abreast if not in the van of Mackenzie, Lewis and Clark "and all the eager-eyed throng who since have yielded to the urge of Westward Ho." In point of permanent achievement probably even Lewis and Clark lag behind this latest of the Spanish conquistadores. The immortal pair that pushed out from St. Louis planted no colony that the years were to see expand into metropolitan proportions. Anza's monument is "the imperial city which stands beside the Golden Gate and looks out across the western sea."

All in all Bolton's edition of the Anza documents is a memorable milestone in the ever developing historiography of the Spanish Southwest. Unquestionably a glamour broods over every region which Spain has touched. Sordid and repulsive realities may here and there have marked her advance, but outbalancing these in the authentic record are the matchless grit and daring of her trail-blazers and pioneers, their steady, patient, triumphant wrestling with the wilderness, their ultimate superb achievement in the way of solid cultural gains to the native populations whose lands they overran.

The December, 1930, issue of *Minnesota History* reproduces the address delivered (by proxy) by His Highness, the Prince de Ligne, Belgian Ambassador to the United States, at the Minneapolis celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Hennepin's discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony. The address, which bears the caption, "Father Louis Hennepin, Belgian" stresses the famous Franciscan missionary-explorer's Belgian origin and connections. He has sometimes been named, "a son of France," but as a matter of fact he was Belgian-born, having had for birthplace Ath, the same town in the French-speaking part of Belgium which claims as a native son Father Pierson, Jesuit missionary at Sault Sainte Marie in what is now Michigan and a contemporary of Hennepin. The latter was therefore not a Fleming or Flemish-speaking Belgian but a Walloon or French-speaking one. He learnt Flemish only by studying that language at Ghent where a sister of his resided.

"Belgium," declared the Prince de Ligne, "is too proud of its great son to permit him to be adopted by our neighbors. At the same time we acknowledge with appreciation that it was under the protection of France that Father Hennepin was enabled to prosecute his work as a missionary and explorer in America. But in the great work of founding New France on the American continent, there is glory enough for the great French pioneers,—such as La Salle, Marquette, Jolliet, Du Luth and others, to whose exploits I wish to pay tribute here today,—as well as for the Belgian Father Hennepin and other Belgian priests who shared in their great emprise. . . .

The fame of Father Hennepin rests upon the comparatively short period of his life which he spent as a missionary and explorer in America and upon the description which he wrote of the upper Mississippi Valley and its inhabitants. His *Description de la Louisiane* was the first published description of this section of your country, and it is now a rare and expensive piece of Americana. It was one of the 'best sellers' of its day, and Father Hennepin may be considered Minnesota's first 'booster' and publicity man as well as its first historian. He was also your first missionary and first teacher, although it seems that he learned more from the

Indians than they did from him and his efforts in the religious line bore no immediate fruit. Judging from the map which accompanied his book it seems that he was also a rather good geographer, and he may be said to be the first man to 'put you on the map.' "

In *America* (February 14, 1931) Dr. Marie R. Madden of the Graduate School of Fordham University makes a plea for a Catholic academy of Hispanic-American studies. "Why will not our Catholics individually or collectively support a Catholic Academy for Spanish-American studies which would perform the research, publish the books, articles and pamphlets, inspire professors and teachers, cooperate with the European and American societies and academies and thus create a public opinion which would be obliged to respect the Church not only for her supernatural mission, which stands on its merits, but because her members are positive and constructive leaders of society and because she can and does offer the proper solution for the problems of our civilization?"

This is an excellent and a timely suggestion. Everyone at all acquainted with recent developments in the field of American history knows the unique importance that has come to attach to Spanish-American studies. One of the most striking phenomena of our own day has been the changed viewpoint, as concerns the past doings of Spain in the New World, which has come if not to prevail at least to assert itself with most refreshing vigor in academic and scholarly circles. The writer of these lines recalls the impression made upon him once in his younger days by a statement read in a history of South America put out by a reputable American publisher to the effect that "everything which Spain did in the New World was evil." This was a ludicrous and a grotesque misrepresentation of the actual facts; but it was the viewpoint which more or less held the field successfully against all comers until a new school of historians, conspicuous in which have been Bourne of Yale and Bolton of California, contrived to bring out into the open the substantial greatness of the historic fabric of civilization and empire which Spain reared with incomparable energy throughout the vast reaches of the New World. However, curious to say, the success with which this vindication of historical reality has been carried out alarms the recalcitrants who still cultivate "The Black Legend" of unqualified Spanish cruelty and obscurantism. Scholarship, research, the evidence of the facts, are all on the side of the newer view; and yet the attempt to resuscitate the older and obviously unhistorical outlook on the matter in question, chiefly the child of national and religious prejudices, will no doubt find supporters and may meet with some undeserved success. Such an issue would be a deplorable setback to the sacred cause of truth and the prospect of its being realized may well inspire all the friends of historical verity to set up what defense they may against it.

The important announcement is made that the writing of an elaborate history of the Catholic Church in Texas, projected a few years ago by the Texas Knights of Columbus, will be taken in hand by the Reverend Dr. Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., well-known historian of the Middle West. Dr. Paul J. Foik, C. S. P., Chairman of the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission, in a recently submitted report *(Minutes of the Tenth Regular Meeting of the Knights of Columbus Historical Commission held at St. Edward's University, Austin, Texas, November 25-26,1930)*, reveals the thoroughgoing and exhaustive research that is being carried on as the basis for this monumental historical undertaking:

> "The work of the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission has reached another milestone on the road to achievement. In 1926 Dr. Guilday prepared a memorandum, in which a survey was made determining the scope of this undertaking, which has for its object the preparation of the history of the Catholic Church in Texas from the earliest times to the present day. The plan for fulfillment, then sketched, has been faithfully executed, and appreciable progress has been made towards the goal; but the collection of data is yet far from complete. The accumulation of documentary materials has advanced steadily year by year, but several archives must still be explored. The Bexar Archives, comprising over sixty thousand leaves, mostly written on both sides, contain many papers of great value. The documents of the Land Office will reveal a wealth of information regarding missions and missionaries, colonizations and settlements, and the relations of church and state in the early nineteenth century. The Nacogdoches Archives and various other groups of state papers have special significance to the church historian and their relevancy will be more exactly determined by deeper research.
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> Aside from these historical sources close at hand, work is now being resumed at the two fountain heads of Texas history, the Archivo General de Mexico at Mexico City and the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, Spain. By special royal decree, the latter depository will furnish docu-

ments at the least expense to the Commission. The Jefe of these archives, Senor Christobal Bermudez Plata, has been furnished with a compilation of all transcripts to be found in America, so that there will be no duplication by those employed by him for this work. A similar elimination is in progress for the Archives in Mexico City, Zacatecas, and Queretero. This transcription is being made by Senor Alexandro Traslosheros.

Also, in anticipation of the selection of these historical writers, the Chairman of the Commission made a survey of the secondary sources in the Library of Congress, especially of the Exploration period, with very gratifying results. The researches of many scholars of national reputation revealed some new vistas, archeological and ethnological expeditions, and the actual digging into the sands of time has cleared away also the crust of oblivion that has obstructed the view of the historian. This fusion with a lost civilization, the remnants of which still linger, creates an interest because of its quaintness and antiquity. The cradle of this development from primitive savagery in North America is none other than the Southwest, among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, especially in that portion of territory near the Texas plains. Into the lands of these sedentary tribes came vanguards of the Caucasian race, filled with a wonder like to that of the modern traveller or investigator, as he travels from place to place, and beholds the silent ruins and abodes of these ancient peoples. Their descendants are still there, clinging to many of their earliest traditions and customs, so that one seems transferred to a strange world, so different from the rest of the United States and, perhaps, as unique and peculiar in conception as that found anywhere in the old world.

Amid this strange environment was cast the lot of the padres and the few Spanish colonists, and here was begun the work of evangelization. There was no rolling back of the aborigines such as took place wherever the English settled. The Spanish conquistadores came and lived with the natives and gave them every opportunity to improve themselves. The era of the Franciscan missionaries is the most romantic, yet tragic, in all American history. During the long decades of their occupation of New Mexico, forty-eight missions and chapels were built, and this all happened before Junipero Serra founded San Diego de Alcala, the first mission in California. Before 1600 there were more than eight thousand Indian converts, and before another score of years there were between eleven thousand and fourteen thousand neophytes. When the Pueblo Revolt occurred in 1680, there were forty houses of worship. Notwithstanding the great destruction that then took place, sixteen churches are still in use today, twenty-six are in various stages of ruin, and only traces of the few others are to be found. Here in the bleak wilderness, in the unknown deserts amid dreary solitude, hardships and cruel want, they sowed the seeds of faith and watered their fields with their own blood. Between Coronado's time and that of the Revolt of 1680, a period of nearly a century and a half, twelve or more padres heroically made this supreme sacrifice of their lives while zealously spreading the light of the Gospel. Twenty-one found martyrs' graves at the general uprising of the Pueblos and, before the seventeenth century closed, many others were added to this army of the Church Triumphant.

It is quite natural, then, that these ancient monuments and ruins, where once these padres labored and died should have a fascination for most historians, irrespective of religious affiliation. No one can view the records and the remains of these times without a genuine feeling of deep admiration and a high appreciation of the sacrifice experienced by these saints of the desert, these true men of God, whose chief object in life was the salvation of souls."

Mid-America wishes every success to Dr. Steck in this notable undertaking.

A recently issued report (1930) of the Library of Congress contains interesting data on the project now under way to acquire for the Manuscript Division of the Library source-material for American history in European archives. Dr. Worthington C. Ford, present director of the European mission charged with the project, writes thus of the results obtained in Italian archives through the services of the Dominican Father, Paul C. Perrotta:

> In August, 1929, Rev. Paul C. Perrotta, O. P., was in Venice, working in the Biblioteca Marciana and the Archivio di Stato. After completing his task in that city he went to Turin, stopping at various places where it was known that American material existed or where some could be looked for because of suggestions obtained from other sources. A tour of this nature, where the photographer accompanied the investigator, made it possible to obtain items which would otherwise have been overlooked or which must have been postponed to some future visit, because of the want of a photographer. For example, an atlas of Visconte Maggiolo was found in the Biblioteca Communale at Treviso; documents of value were taken in Verona and Brescia; and at Milan, in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, important maps were taken. Every courtesy was offered in the various visits, but some disappointments were also encountered. In Milan, owing to the absence of Prince Trivulzio, it was not possible to photograph the few maps wanted in the privately owned Biblioteca Trivulziana. Arrived at Turin the authorities of the Archivio di Stato gave all necessary privileges, and a change of photographer permitted a more rapid handling of the material. The correspondence of the Piedmontese Government with its ambassadors in France, Spain, and England during the American Revolution alone furnished more than 20,000 pages.
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> After more than two months at Turin Doctor Perrotta and his photographer, Caesar Gastaldi, proceeded to Bologna, where Signor Renardo Ambrosini, the present owner of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, gave a cordial welcome and no little of his time in meeting the wants of the mission. In contrast was the attitude of the authorities at the University of Bologna,

who by a rigid insistence on regulations framed many years ago and by basing their objections on the fact that the university library was under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Public Instruction and not the Minister of Interior, under whose general permission the mission was working, raised so many obstacles to permitting anything to be photographed that Doctor Perrotta thought it wiser not to press the point or await long delayed instructions from Rome, and withdrew. It may be added that only in this instance did the Mission experience in Italy any annoyance in obtaining what it desired. Passing to Florence it was found that the director of the Archivio di Stato had thoughtfully prepared the material Doctor Perrotta had indicated, and the photographing was soon accomplished. There was not found, however, the diplomatic correspondence between Tuscany and its representatives in France, England, and Spain during the American Revolution. That entire series of documents has disappeared, but may at some time have been carried to Austria. In Doctor Rostand, the librarian of the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, was found a cultured and obliging friend, who gave freely of his time and knowledge.

Returning to Rome, work was resumed on the Vatican Archives, the authorities being much interested in the work and helpful. The short day, from 8:30 a. m. to noon, and the frequent feast or fast days prevented full production. In three months' time the point was reached when new material must be sought and to obtain results careful search must be made in virgin fields. So doubtful was it that the product would justify the time and expense that it was judged wiser to rest satisfied with what had been done and leave what remained to a future time, when the documents shall have been examined and identified as fitting for Project A. Consequently, after doing what was necessary in the Vatican Library, the Italian section of the mission was closed. In the months from August to February the most valuable records and known maps in Italy were seen and the essential items photographed, an achievement of some moment, as in no two places were conditions the same, and many embarrassments of a technical nature had to be overcome. The short working days, the absence of artificial light, the frequent interruptions of holidays, and the poor facilities offered for developing the films, all tended to reduce the rate of production. The results to the end of the mission in Italy were 52,571 prints. It is high testimony to Doctor Perrotta that so much was accomplished under such circumstances. It should also be added that the director has been assured that special facilities were granted to Doctor Perrotta by the Vatican authorities in recognition of the services given by the Library of Congress on the cataloguing of the treasures of the Vatican Library. It may confidently be asserted that the mission in Italy has completed what it set out to do. The thanks of the Library of Congress have been given to the superior of the Dominican Order for so generously permitting Doctor Perrotta to engage in this undertaking."

In the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* January, 1931, Frank D. Richardson writes of a last visit paid to his intimate friend Judge Gayarré, the noted historian of Louisiana. The Judge contrived to divert himself to the end with books and visits from friends. "Here he lapsed into a sort of semi-soliloquy on the comforts of religion especially to the old. 'What,' said he, 'would you and I be without it now?' The conversation drifting around to Voltaire, the Judge commented: 'Of course he was an infidel but he had no patience with an atheist . . . but for a man of such a mind to believe in God without a revelation to those he has created is beyond my comprehension. It would leave us all in the dark.'"

The waters of a century have washed the shores of the Mississippi since they were gazed upon for the first time by native sons of Oregon. In the early Autumn of 1831 four Indians of the Salish-speaking group which inhabited the region of the Bitter Root Valley on the western watershed of the Rockies, paid homage to their Great White Chief, General William Clark, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis. Of that visit and its significance this is but a sketch to call attention to the passing of the hundredth anniversary of an event which is unquestionably one of the most unique to be encountered in the annals of Indian missions. Abler pens have told well the story of that long trek eastward, a story to which it will be found equally hard to add either fact or fiction. The pendulum of opinion has swung during the course of a hundred years, from the first florid bombast of contemporary journalists and publicity men to the extreme conservatism of laborious investigators, and now, perhaps has ceased to oscillate with the publishing of such important studies as "The Flathead and Nez Perce Delegation of 1831," by Rev. John Rothensteiner, in the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review,* 1920, and Archer B. Hulbert's "Marcus Whitman," in the *Trans-Mississippi West,* 1930.

That these Indians came to St. Louis and that the delegation was composed of members of the Flathead and Nez Perce tribes of the Bitter Root Valley are facts now generally accepted. The year 1831 has come to be the accepted date of their visit to St. Louis and has the weight of documentary authority conclusively in its favor despite the slight evidence which would seem to point to the following year, 1832, as the correct one. Furthermore, that they came for religious information is generally accepted as the reason for their long journey. There is, however, one small phase incident to the coming of the deputation which would easily bear further investigation. This is the identity of the trader with whom they are reputed to have come across the mountains and down the Missouri valley.

That they came with a trader is the general belief and has the authority of contemporary journals behind it, but nowhere in published material is there explicit reference to the trader by name. Bancroft (*History of Oregon,* p. 55) quotes Hall J. Kelley to the effect that they travelled with Sublette from the Upper Missouri post where they supposedly received a passport from Pilcher, then agent of that post, to continue on in the company of Sublette's party bound for St. Louis (Kelley, *Settlement of Oregon,* Springfield, 1868, p. 63). Documentary evidence contradicts this contention. Milton Sublette, the younger of the two Sublette brothers engaged in the Rocky Mountain fur trade at this period, beyond a doubt remained in the immediate vicinity of the mountains during this time (Chittenden, *Fur Trade in the Far West,* 1:294), while during the same time William Sublette was actively pursuing fortune in the Santa Fe trade. This last fact is attested by a passport of the Government dated 1831 and a letter of introduction also written in the same year. An itinerary of these men, especially that of William Sublette, may be worked out from Chittenden which would show that, though failure in the Santa Fe venture left him free to travel unencumbered where he would, none of his several trips to the Flathead country would coincide with the journey of the quartette of delegates. An entry in an unpublished pocket diary is dated "September 28, 1831 . . . in [on] Columbia," from which detail also may be seen the impossibility of his coming to St. Louis before November or December had he come at all. There remains, therefore, this interesting bit of history connected with this Indian call for missionaries to be thrashed out. It would be more than interesting if the centennial year of its occurrence should witness the clearing up of this one clouded portion of the remarkable event. (Edward Harold Young, A. B., St. Louis University)

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of the Catholic Church. By Rev. Fernand Mourret, S. S. Translated by Rev. Newton Thompson, S. T. D. Vol. V. B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis, 1930.

The *Histoire de l'Église* of Mourret has an established reputation in France. It was written in the spirit which animated Bossuet when he wrote that his *History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches* was composed with the hope that it would tend to promote peace more than strife. Peace is the result of concession and of an insistence on the reality of facts and truth. Mourret has not glossed over nor ignored the lapses of representatives of the Church; he has been very severe in his judgment of Alexander VI; he has manifested true human sympathy for the thoroughly human failings of Savanarola, but he has also described events as they actually were at the time they occurred, and has steadfastly maintained the truth of the divine origin of the Church and of the Apostolical character of her doctrines. His History is the kind of book that the honest inquirer of the real meaning of things desires.

The fifth volume of the *Histoire* has been selected for translation and publication in this country and in England. Later, the rest of the work, consisting of nine volumes, will appear. The translation by Dr. Thompson is excellent. French writings are usually models of clearness and the translator of this work has not allowed his style to become clouded. He has reproduced the clarity of his author, and is so free from any trace of foreignism that the translation appears as an original English book. Whether this be an advantage or not we shall not say; at any rate the translation is very easy reading.

The period covered by the fifth volume is that of the Renaissance and Reformation. Dr. Thompson says this is the best volume by which to introduce the work to the English-speaking public. It is a very interesting volume indeed. The Renaissance will always be an attractive period to every cultivated man. High above the drab world of today appears the mirage of old Rome and Athens when are heard the names of Petrarch, Poggio, Laurentius Valla, Politian, and that strange, short lived, fascinating genius of Florence, Pico della Mirandola. Mourret has given in outline, but vividly, a picture of the great scholars who pored laboriously and reverently over the manuscripts of classical writers, and who rose from their books with something like fierce fanaticism to tell the world of the great intellectual life that had once existed in their land. His portrait of Nicholas V is, perhaps, too sketchy, but it enables one to see the scholar behind the Pope, the man who laid the foundation of the great Vatican Library, who dreamed of a day when Rome would be again the intellectual center of the world. In treating of the great humanist Popes, of Nicholas V and Pius II, he does not, however, lose sight of the Pope in the scholar. Both Popes were charmed by the marvellous prose of Cicero and Livy, by the melody of the poetry of Catullus and Horace, by the grandeur of Vergil; but when elected to the position of supreme Pontiff they labored energetically to save Europe from the oncoming Turks. Scholars in the Renaissance period were men of action as well as of books, and both scholarly Popes in the work most needed to be done then, the work of stemming the Turkish advance, were self-sacrificing, untiring, and though they knew it not, successful. The American, and perhaps the English public requires more detailed exposition of this phase of the lives of the Popes than Mourret has given. France and England were so engrossed in their own war that they could not be induced to see the greater danger in the east, Germany, though in imminent danger, was stolid, Hungary alone in the far east, and the heroic Scanderbeg, were frantically attempting to save Europe. The Popes, Nicholas V, Callistus III, and Pius II, were incessantly sounding the alarm. Pius II preached a crusade against the Turks. It was for this crusade, for the saving of Europe and not for himself, as for example Miss Hollings says in her *Europe in Renaissance and Reformation,* that Pius II collected money in Germany and other parts of Europe.

In narrating the history of the Reformation Mourret brings out very clearly the economic side of that social revolution. This phase of the Reformation has been almost uniformly neglected by Catholic writers. Dr. O'Brien has written a small but very valuable work on the economic results of the Reformation; but in general histories of the Church little attention has been paid the subject. It is a most important phase of the Reformation in Germany, as it is also of the religious upheaval in England. "We cannot," says Mourret, "over emphasise the influence of economic causes on the development of Protestantism. The sudden fluctuations of wages, on account of which the work-man's condition shifted from excessive luxury to extreme wretchedness, the opening of the markets of the New World, abruptly transferring the movement of commerce from the shores of the Mediterranean to those of the Atlantic, the breaking off of ties of vassalage and their replacement by unstable and precarious contractual relations, and the settling of large numbers of workmen in the big industrial cities, were conditions well calculated to give every revolt a widespread echo and to make of every new idea a ferment of anarchy. The violent deeds of the Protestants in propagating their teaching and of the Catholics in their repressive measures are ordinarily less imputable to men's personal malice than to social conditions, the responsibility for which cannot be laid at the door of any particular individual or group."

In his delineation of the character of Luther Mourret is fair. It is perhaps easier to be fair today than it was fifty or even thirty years ago. Modern scholarship has investigated the men of the Reformation period very thoroughly. Luther is not generally considered any longer as a great, self-sacrificing and eminently pious religious leader. He is now properly viewed as a social reformer in his earlier years, in his later as a staunch upholder of authority and aristocracy. Religion was his means of gaining control. This does not imply that he was not always sincere in his religious opinion. Undoubtedly at times he was emotionally sincere. But, like Savanarola, he saw that religious activities brought the power that he wanted, and it was toward the powerful that he gravitated. He is now generally considered one of the founders of the modern state.

In summarizing his history of the Reformation Mourret shows clearly that the revolt really broke out before Luther became active. Before the destruction of the Papal Bulls the possessions of the Church had aroused the cupidity of the King of Denmark and his nobility. In the Netherlands the aristocracy began a violent attack on the monasteries. In England the Lollards were preaching anarchy. In France were armed bands demanding the partition of property, and in Germany the freebooting Knights were ravaging the lands of their neighbors. "The economic crisis that had just upset the world of wealth and toil, the social crisis which gradually dispossessed the old feudal nobility of its influence and property, the political crisis which gave birth to great centralized absolute monarchies, all these crises amply explain that universal uprising of starving peasants, covetous lords, and ambitious princes, pouncing upon the old regime, or rather upon the goods of the Church, which in their eyes were its most tangible expression."

The rise of the Jesuits and their efficient work in purifying the intellectual and religious atmosphere is well described. To them must be attributed the stemming of the tide of Protestantism. Religious Europe was in a chaotic condition. Law and order were absolutely needed. "It was to that requirement of rule and order, which then seemed the primordial need of Christian society," says the Protestant Gabriel Monod, "that the Society of Jesus responded."

There is a thoroughly workable bibliography and index at the end of the volume. The type and make-up of the book are excellent. This History of the Church by Mourret-Thompson should be on the book-stand of priests as well as laymen. It will be an adequate means for supplying accurate information to those who are searching for the Church of Christ, or who are trying to identify that Church with the Catholic Church of today.

Loyola University — ENEAS B. GOODWIN, S. T. B., J. D.
Chicago

Indians and Pioneers: The Story of the American Southwest before 1830. By Grant Foreman, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930, xvii+348 pp. $4.00.

Major Long returned from his famous expedition of 1820 and reported the existence of "a sterile dreary waste" three or four hundred miles wide and fourteen hundred miles long. The official sanction and publicity of this erroneous notion influenced the westward movement, causing it to leap the "desert" as a prairie fire passes over a barren spot. An interesting and curious parallel may be found in the manner in which historians have followed the Oregon and Santa Fé trails to the distant outposts, leaving fertile, unworked areas near at hand. One outstanding exception is Grant Foreman, who has spent time, money, and intelligent energy in ferreting out the data on which to base a narrative of the American Southwest. Beginning several years ago, he published articles in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* and in 1926 his *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest.* The present volume is the next step in his efforts to save Arkansas, Oklahoma, and contiguous territory from the stigma of having no history.

A brief survey of the American Southwest (a happy and apt phrase) during the French and Spanish periods occupies two chapters, and the remaining ones, III to XXI, develop the story to 1830. The casual reader of history who remembers vaguely that the Indians were removed to Indian Territory will be interested in the bewildering variety of ways in which this was accomplished, in the suffering and hardship which it entailed, and in the complex situation which resulted while it was being accomplished. The student of military affairs will be interested in learning how the frontier line of defense expanded as necessity required. The chapter on missionaries will appeal particularly to those who are interested in the efforts to Christianize the Indians. The book contains convincing evidence of the extent and serious consequences of intertribal wars. Pioneers, Indians, soldiers, traders, agents, factors, hunters—all the characters of a typical frontier are presented in realistic detail.

The author has shown unusual ability to find material. He journeyed from Paris to Berkeley; he frequented the dusty archives of the Old Records Division and read the wonderful Graham Collection in the Missouri Historical Library; he has found and presented his material. Perhaps the mass of facts embarrassed the author, for he does not always appear to be their master. The pages are spotted with quotations and footnotes, and some items were apparently included because the author had gathered them. These facts, however, should not discourage the reader, and the serious student will be grateful for facts, whether or not they contribute materially to the narrative. The reviewer would question the necessity of a footnote (p. 11) explaining that the Louisiana Purchase was negotiated in 1803. He doubts that "the latest threat of the Cherokee finally caused the War Department" (p. 55) to order the establishment of Fort Smith. The time required to send a letter from Arkansas to Washington and to forward orders makes such an explanation improbable. He doubts that 250 men were added to the garrison at Fort Smith (p. 131) in 1822, for the total as given in the *American State Papers, Military Affairs,* II, 456, was 239. Perhaps a more general consideration of frontier defense policies and army administration with an explanation of the parts played by factors, Indian agents, and commanders would have clarified the details, but the reviewer is grateful for the latter.

The format is pleasing, but the publishers have reduced the excellent map to such small proportions that it loses half its usefulness. The index is satisfactory, and the bibliography is excellent. The author's enlightening comments constitute a summary guide to the government archives. Serious students of American history will welcome this worthy contribution.

University of Minnesota EDGAR B. WESLEY, PH. D.

Westward: The Romance of the American Frontier. By E. Douglas Branch. Woodcuts by Lucina Smith Wakefield. New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1930, xi+626 pp.

The American frontier moved westward and southwestward across the continent like a great arc from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans. The frontier was reached at each of its stages by various ways of travel: Indian trails, national roads, rivers, ruts made on the surface of the Great Prairies by wagon wheels. The frontier shifted literally from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The earliest frontier in the United States was at Concord, Massachusetts, whither several Puritan families, the earliest to move inland, settled in 1635. The last frontier geographically was California; politically the frontier was eliminated on May 10, 1869, when two special trains, one coming from the east and the other from the west, moved toward each other on the newly built tracks of the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific railroads and touched at Promontory Point, Nevada, thereby linking East and West. The story of the American Frontier has been told with remarkable fullness and detail in Mr. Douglas Branch's volume listed at the head of this review.

The line of advance of the frontier was westward in Massachusetts and northward into Vermont, westward in the middle Atlantic States; it crossed the Blue Ridge and Allegheny Mountains into Kentucky and Tennessee, extended northwest of the Ohio, southwest to the Mississippi River; it reached the shores of the Gulf of Mexico through former French and Spanish territory; then it followed the Overland Trails southwest to Santa Fé, west to California, northwest to the Oregon country. Latterly it veered back into Nevada, Idaho and Montana.

Frontiersmen were of various types: the trapper and fur-trader traveling afoot or by canoe; the farmer trudging out beyond the outskirts of a settlement with ax on shoulder, prepared to clear an "opening" in the forest in which to erect his log cabin and plant his crops; the trader carrying goods by pack, by pack-horse, by wagon or boat; the emigrant to the Far West, bringing his household belongings and his family in that most distinctively American vehicle, the "prairie schooner"; the miner with tools and camp kit setting out for the placer diggings or the mines; lastly, the traveler in Concord coach, steamboat or railway car.

The conquest of this frontier was won at the expense of ceaseless, grim struggle—with Indians, Frenchmen and Spaniards, with a stubborn soil, drought, floods, hurricanes. As Mr. Branch puts it: "The battle with Nature, the wilderness; the taming of the land—that is the essential conflict. It was a battle fought and won by Plain Men; with them this narrative deals. If there is a moral to the history of the westward movement, it is this: the transcendent importance of small things and of 'unimportant' people." Again, referring to the title of his work, the author says: " 'Westward' is not accurate as to direction. The frontier was not slavishly wedded to parallels . . . 'West' finds its greater meaning as a transitional phase in American life. There is not a region in the United States that overleapt this phase; this common experience of a frontier stage of society has given American life and politics the distinctive tropisms that have baffled European understanding."

The author has evidently fairly lived in the literature of his subject and has arranged contemporary references to the manifold aspects of his theme so deftly that, as each topic is reached in the course of his narrative, some apt quotation is at hand to illustrate it or to confirm his own interpretation of events. Diaries, journals and accounts of travelers; newspaper editorials and pamphleteering literature; river "pilots"—i. e. the books, not the men—gazetteers; overland journeys; such are the types of material quoted. No foot-notes or superior figures referring to sources of information are given in the text; but at the back of the book is a section of "Notes on Materials," wherein the literature is not merely listed but characterized. This form of bibliography was used—first, we believe—by Justin Winsor in his *Narrative and Critical History of America,* although Winsor did not eliminate foot-notes; and it has much to recommend it. Mr. Branch has doubtless assumed that the reader will not suspect him of fabricating a quotation, and if his interpretations are open to question, the matter may be settled without a list of page references.

So much for what Mr. Branch has given us. But there are features which may naturally occur to the reader that are noticeable by their absence from the narrative. To judge by the few words that the author devotes to the matter, religion, piety, or ecclesiastical influence upon the lives of men and women were negligible factors upon the frontier. One chapter is entitled "Repentance, Salvation and the Jerks." If the peruser of that chapter receives the impression that the author thinks somewhat contemptuously of the forms of religion there described, he will find nothing in other pages to correct that impression. Nor will the reader find allusions to any other forms of Christianity; or to the share that the Church has had in promoting settlement, maintaining correct standards of conduct, influencing sinners, or preserving order by teaching the duty of obeying lawful authority. We recall one reference to Catholics: "The friars [in the Spanish province of New Mexico] were disappointed; their flails beat fruitlessly against pagan chaff"—only that and nothing more! There may be readers who will resent the title of a chapter dealing with the laborers who helped build the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific railroads: "Gangs of Paddies and Chinks."

Maps are indispensable for the picturing of movements of expeditions, routes of exploration and travel, and the location of early settlements. The reader will thank Mr. Branch for the sketch maps that he has provided to present some of these features. But when one tries to follow almost any special route described in the text by means of any of these maps, only about half of the places mentioned will be found. A map pasted on the inside of the covers of the book, showing the Overland Trails, would have been far more precise and useful had the fancy sketches of emigrant wagons, drawn in Brobdingnagian proportion to the scale of the map, been eliminated and more places and rivers set down. It is no easy matter to trace small rivers and other natural features on a modern map quartered with county boundaries and netted with railroads and motor highways. There are many luxuries now supplied readers of today by publishers; but maps accompanying every book of history, and drawn with special reference to its narrative, are not yet among these luxuries.

Mr. Branch's *Westward* is an intimate study of a period that is well called romantic. Its sordid features are not distinct enough to disturb us. The enthusiasm, the perseverance, the sterling qualities of character of the early pioneers of our history will appeal to any one, and appreciation of their significance should have a beneficial influence upon youth of today, with its gaze so fixed upon luxuries and money-making. Mr. Branch himself is not free from a trace of that subtle cynicism regarding the motives of men that seem to be in vogue with certain historians; and his praise of noble traits of character is always in guarded terms. But he really seems to admire the pioneer.

Oak Park, Illinois William Stetson Merrill, A. B.

America Moves West. By Robert E. Riegel, New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1930.

The pageant of the West will not pall for a long time. The actors in this conquest of a continent never saw themselves as heroes making history. The present generation begins to realize the full meaning of their steady advance into a hostile wilderness rich with opportunities for the hardy and the daring. Professor Riegel sketches the various stages of the long and arduous onward march from ocean to ocean. His account begins with the crossing of the Appalachians about the middle of the eighteenth century by the first pioneers, ending with the crossing of the continent by the railroads. The West that had been was no more. The author has tapped no original sources for new information. He is content to project a panoramic view on a grandeur screen. The picture is fascinating at times, interesting always. Watching a new world in the making could hardly be otherwise.

Many factors stimulated this surging human tide in its westward sweep. Some were just adventurers, on nothing but adventure bent. Land hunger drove others on. Canny traders took the trail with their wares. Gold seekers turned into a frenzied mob. All of them lacked the ordinary comforts of life. They suffered from hunger and thirst. Disease and death took a heavy toll. It mattered little. The motley crowds saw nothing but the rainbow ahead and plodded along. There were always men who could lead and fight and had vision. The sturdiest survived. Their numerous offspring, inured to hardships of climate and soil, carried on the tradition. History has record of other mass movements in search of new lands. None has the same picturesque, intimate appeal, because none is so close to us as this American trek. Its evidences are still written all over the countryside.

Old eastern colonists, new arrivals from Europe, people with utterly diverse backgrounds of race, of culture, and religion, swelled the kaleidoscopic migration. They faced new political, social and economic problems. Not the least interesting part of this book is the way in which these were met and solved. The results persist in our national life, stamped with an unmistakable western brand.

The prevalent religion of the frontiersmen was an intensely emotional Protestantism which gave rise to the lurid excesses of "The Great Revival." Its creed towards the aborigines is thus stated by the author: "Religion presented an easy justification for the frontiersman's attitude toward the Indian. The Indian was an infidel and his destruction was a victory of right over the powers of darkness." Which explains a great deal indeed.

Brief references to the Catholic Church and her share in the western conquest are scattered throughout the volume. The "friendly French priest sent to Vincennes" by Clark (p. 31) deserved to be mentioned by name: Father Pierre Gibault. Exception must be taken to a century-old misstatement, apparently still current in some circles: "An unusual desire of at least a few of the Rocky Mountain Indians to learn about Christianity was expressed when a Flathead and Nez Percés delegation made the long trip across the continent to St. Louis to ask for instruction in the white man's faith" (p. 308). They asked expressly for "a black robe." These Indians, influenced by Iroquois descendants of converts of one hundred and fifty years before, made their request not once, but on four different occasions, until it was granted by the assignment of Father De Smet. It is regrettable that the author devotes but two lines to Father De Smet, whose control over warlike tribes, exasperated by white injustice, had a large bearing on the peaceful development of the West. But then, the author also disposes of the Whitman myth.

The march of empire ended at the Golden Gate: *nomen omen,* for a few. The frontier has been transferred to the screen and the theater, the novel and the magazine, and such entertaining books as the present one, for vicarious adventuring in a prosaic day.

Moline, Illinois JOHN B. CULEMANS, PH. D.

Lone Cowboy: My Life Story. By Will James, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1930, pp. 431. $2.25.

It so happens that the reviewer is familiar with the scenes depicted in this book. He has stood on the banks of the small tributaries of the Missouri in the far north-west and has tramped along the Rio Grande among the cactus lands of New Mexico. The weird call of the coyote is familiar to him; and he has seen the uplands of Wyoming in the fogs of evening take fantastic shapes of great spires and ruined cities. For this reason the book under review had a special appeal to him. He can attest the accuracy of the writer. The first half of the *Lone Cowboy* reads like a stirring juvenile. The young Will James is a bold and adventurous lad who is adopted by an old trapper and led away into the wild recesses of the mountains. As one reads the account of the dangers and hardships of the man and his boy friend, there is no inclination to ask whether the narrative is fiction or biography. No one, young or old, who likes adventure will be disappointed with the first half of the *Lone Cowboy.*

However, as there is no plot to hold the attention, and there is a constant repetition of the experiences of the writer, interest begins to fail. Then the hero turns a common horse and cattle thief, and as far as the reviewer is concerned, the story has ended. It is true that great novelists and dramatists depict scenes of evil, but retribution follows and the obvious lesson is left upon the mind of the reader. Not so with the *Lone Cowboy.* There is no lesson and no remorse. Then the writer's account of his first theatre experience in a western town is a moral blotch upon the book.

The sudden and tragic death of Bopy, the old hunter who had adopted the Lone Cowboy, is pathetic, and reveals the heart of the lad who long remembered every act of kindness of the benefactor. Nor must we forget the faithful horse, Smoky; old and young would welcome Smoky in a movie. The publishers make considerable claims for the illustrations, and call attention to the fact that there are few writers who can draw the pictures for their literary productions. Theodore Roosevelt, when he was a young man seeking health and fortune in the West, added to the interest of his books by his studious habits in the long and monotonous evenings. Equally so has Will James added to the pleasure and merit of his books by his talent in sketching. Many of the drawings are artistic and instructive.

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HENRY S. SPALDING, S. J.

Dominicans in Early Florida. By the Very Reverend V. L. O'Daniel, O.P., S. T. M., Litt. D. United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, 1930, Monograph Series XII.

Dominicans in Early Florida is a series of portraits of Friars Preachers who accompanied various expeditions to that Florida of the sixteenth century that comprised our present Southern States. None of the expeditions described ended in colonization, nor any of the missionary plans in the spread of the faith, yet the author's theme is success,—success translated from terms of human failure. It is the heroic proportions of the man of God, not the gigantic labor of the planting of Spanish culture, that is the subject of Father O'Daniel's book. He sketches for us twenty-three missionaries of his order: Father Antonio de Montesinos and companions, who accompanied Vásquez de Ayllón in 1526, when the latter sailed as far north as Virginia in hope of making himself governor of a land as rich as Mexico; Father Luis de Soto and companions, who also joined Hernando de Soto in his fatal exploration of almost the whole territory of Florida; Father Luis Cancer de Barbastro, who organized his own little band of five and set sail from Mexico, almost unaccompanied, to establish a missionary settlement wherever on the peninsula of Florida it might seem best; Father Diego de la Cruz and four companions who were shipwrecked along the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico in 1553, when on their way back from Mexico to Spain; and finally the six priests and lay brothers headed by Father Pedro de Feria, and the three headed by Father Juan de Conteras who formed part of the following of Tristan de Luna and Angel de Villafañe, respectively, in the last expedition that was destined to fail in the effort to colonize Florida. The book closes with a chapter on Bishop Juan de las Cabezas y Altamirano, O. P., chosen in 1603 for the see of Santiago, Cuba, which included the nine cities and towns founded by the Spaniards in Florida from the building of Saint Augustine, in 1565, on to the close of the century.

Father O'Daniel deserves the gratitude of all students of Spanish American history, for he has assembled information that is difficult to discover, and he has given personality to men who earned the right to be more than mere names occurring now in one chronicle, now in another. It is a pity that the author had to draw upon his own imagination so frequently, but as Father O'Daniel says, the historian of the sixteenth century in America is appalled by the gaps in the sources, and, consequently, in such books as this one must have recourse to speculation. As to the background of his story, the author uses trustworthy accounts of the secular end of the expeditions, choosing his material with the historical insight of one who has worked long in the field. It is only when he relies upon Las Casas that he shows less critical acumen than he should. The fiery phrases of Las Casas no longer have the weight they enjoyed before the archives of Seville began to publish their treasures, neither can all obstacles to the conversion of the Indians be explained by decrying the cruelty of the settlers. No society can produce as large a number of high-minded priests as Spain did in the sixteenth century and be itself composed of a laity in which cowards and tyrants predominate.

Boston, Mass. E. WARD LOUGHRAN

Antique Dubuque, 1673-1833. By M. M. Hoffmann, Dubuque, 1930, pp. 219.

In this volume a small section of ancient Iowa is studied intensively. The author definitely localizes the section in these words. "The country of antique Dubuque stretched—measuring roughly—from the Turkey river where it flows into the Mississippi some miles to the north of the site of present Dubuque to the Maquoketa river where it joins the Father of Waters some miles to the south" (p. 28).

Although that region during the period under study (1673-1833) had been hitherto dim even in general outline, the author has assembled its past into a narrative at once orderly and delightful. From that narrative the reader carries away at least four clear-cut convictions: (1) that Julien Dubuque was the first permanent white settler in the Iowa country (1788-1810), and that he was Iowa's first white farmer as well; (2) that the author has invested him with an historical character, and a reputable one: adventurer, trader, miner, farmer, and trusted friend of the Indian; (3) that the Mines of Spain were responsible for a deal of the early history about Dubuque and were the center of activity after 1788; (4) that the very difficult matter of Indian history in eastern Iowa has been disentangled by Father Hoffman and made intelligible for the period and region under study. Indeed, this volume is a worthy one for those four reasons alone. Other subjects also find fascinating treatment. There is a chapter on the discovery of the Mississippi. It is worthy of note that the author accepts the traditional landing-place in Iowa of the Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, that is, in Louisa County near the present town of Wapello. Interesting new material is found also relative to the Dubuque region's share in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. In the closing chapters only a brief treatment is accorded Catholic beginnings in the nineteenth century. Perhaps that is an indication that Father Hoffman will give us another volume in fine detail to complete the story.

Antique Dubuque is one of the most interesting presentations of Iowa history that the reviewer has read. Searching analysis of the past together with a careful synthesis, a narrative glowing with the natural color of life, and embodying the finest research, and the whole fascinatingly told by a skillful pen—these are characteristics of *Antique Dubuque* that will provide many an hour of interesting reading for those who love good books.

St. Ambrose College CHARLES F. GRIFFITH, A. M.
Davenport

Catholic Missionary Activities in the Northwest, 1818-1864. By Sister Mary Aquinas Norton. The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., 1930, pp. 154.

This dissertation submitted for the degree of doctor of philosophy was written by a member of an Upper Mississippi Valley religious order, the Sisters of St. Francis, Rochester, Minnesota. The missionary activities described occurred in her own state of Minnesota and in the states of North and South Dakota. The appearance of this study is quite opportune. Occasional articles on the missions of the Northwest have been finding their way into print of late, and it is gratifying to find here a connected and scholarly story of the Catholic missions in Minnesota and the Dakotas.

The list of sources under the heading "Bibliography" is astonishingly long; it covers ten pages of close print, and includes everything conceivable in the line of manuscripts and printed works. It should have taken a great deal of time and patience for their collection and proper evaluation.

The Introduction deals with the missionary endeavors prior to 1737, and then the study proper commences with the year 1818. One wonders, why the hiatus of almost a century, why the neglect of this immense territory in the work of evangelization until 1818? Although the author is silent on this question, little more can be desired by the most exacting when it comes to a description of the missionary endeavors after 1818. The efforts and progress and failures and successes of the Catholic missioners are meticulously set forth, and much hitherto unpublished matter from letters and written records enhances the recital.

The two earliest missionary campaigns which actually accomplished anything in the form of permanent results came peculiarly enough from opposite directions, one from the north, and the other from the south. Through Pembina on the northern border, came French Canadian influences which radiated down the Red River valley and through the Dakota plains. From Dubuque on the Mississippi came missionaries from old France to Fort Snelling, from which point they launched their evangelizing attempts out into the heart of Minnesota. The various endeavors among the Winnebago, the Sioux and the Chippewa tribes, and among the half-breeds of the different nations, are faithfully and painstakingly portrayed by the author, and the names of Provencher and Dumoulin, of Ravoux and Baraga, of Belcourt and Lacombe, and especially of Francis Pierz, who like Baraga was not French but a native of Carniola in old Austria, fairly scintillate with glory on these pages as one reads of their intensely heroic and saintly work among the savage peoples on the frontier.

Although there is no attempt made by the author to diagnose critically policies, methods or backgrounds, the general theme is unfolded in such clear and simple language as to leave on the mind a picture of precise historical exactness. It might be in place here to mention that a highly interesting corollary to this scholarly dissertation is the splendid article by Professor Hugh Graham, "Catholic Missionary Schools Among the Indians of Minnesota," in the January issue of *Mid-America.*

Sister Mary Aquinas' work is a valuable and much needed contribution to the history of the Church in the Northwest.

Columbia College
Dubuque
M. M. HOFFMANN, M. A.

Coronado's Children: Tales of Lost Mines and Buried Treasures of the Southwest. By J. Frank Dobie, Author of "A Vaquero of the Brush Country"; illustrated by Ben Carlton Mead. Dallas, Texas, The Southwest Press, 1930, pp. xv+367.

Coronado's Children, in the book by that name written by J. Frank Dobie, is the name given by the author to the numerous treasure hunters, from the time when Francisco Vasquez Coronado led the first expedition made by white men into the Southwest in search of the Seven Cities of Cibola, to present-day treasure hunters seeking the buried loot of the pirate Jean Lafitte, or the blood-stained hoards of the James Boys.

Many and diverse were the places searched for hidden wealth;—abandoned mines, post holes, caves, river beds, rocky gullies, even the sites of some of the early missions. The Jesuits were said (one of the many mythical things said about them) to have buried bullion in the shaft of the Padre Mine when they were expelled from the Southwest, and the entrance to the mine is still being sought. Sometimes a map purported to show where the treasure was; sometimes information was conveyed by word of mouth only. Equally various were the original sources of the wealth. It might be the gold of Montezuma or of the Incas; the legendary pearls found by Hernando De Soto; the "pay chest" of Santa Anna, said to have been dropped in the bed of the Nueces River; or the fortune of the ill-fated Emperor Maximilian. It might be money hastily buried by men who were being pursued by bandits or hostile Indians, or loot buried by bandits pursued by officers of the law. "The opportunity that Coronado . . . opened has never since his time been neglected . . . the mirage that lured him on has never faded, and to-day all over the . . . lands where conquistadores trailed and padres built their simple missions . . . tradition has marked rock and river and ruin with illimitable treasure."

It is singular how rarely the fortune hunters seem to have succeeded in their quests. Who can say whether the treasures were chimaeras or whether they are too well guarded by the desert? In telling of Yuma's Mine the author says, "it is guarded by something fiercer and more relentless than all the tigers of the world. It is guarded by the desert itself." The reader cannot help but feel the cruelty and relentlessness of the desert, as if it were a sentient force, resisting invasion, and must realize what tremendous difficulties the early explorers and missionaries in the Southwest encountered. The vast stretches of sandy desert, with their terrific sand-storms and shifting surfaces, the rocky, mountainous regions, traveled over by fierce Apaches, Comanches and other Indian tribes, and later by cruel and vindictive bandits, who lived up to their motto "The dead tell no tales," and who were as much to be feared as the Indians, made exploration and settlement of this region dangerous and difficult.

To a dweller in a thickly populated section of our country, it is a revelation to discover that there are vast stretches of the Southwest still uncultivated. To quote the author again: "Except that it is brushier, groomed down in a few places by little fields, and cut across by fences, it is to-day essentially as the Spaniards found it. A soil that cannot be plowed under keeps its traditions—and its secrets."

Among the treasure hunters whose adventures are told, perhaps those best known to history are Don Bernardo de Miranda, who led an expedition from San Fernando (San Antonio) in 1755-56; Jim Bowie, "who fought for nebulous treasure as hardily as for a nation's liberty"; and Captain Jess Billingsley, the originator of the famous battle cry, "Remember the Alamo!" However, it is not as history that the book is of value, but as a picture of the great Southwest, of the Indians who roamed over it, and of the rugged men who explored and settled it. The Notes at the end incorporate an extensive bibliography, containing references to many local histories and archaeological reports (including several by Adolph Bandelier) as well as to the sources of the legends themselves.

Oak Park, Illinois ETHEL OWEN MERRILL

Political Nativism in Texas. By Sister Paul of the Cross McGrath, of the Sisters of Divine Providence, San Antonio, Texas. Washington, D. C., 1930, pp. viii+209.

From time to time, a monograph appears on the extremely interesting subject of nativism in some section of the country. Schmeckebier wrote a history of the Know-Nothing party in Maryland; the subject was treated in its broader aspect by Sister St. Patrick McConville in her *Political Nativism in the State of Maryland;* and here we have this same phenomenon as it was manifested in the history of the state of Texas.

The writer prefaces her study with an introductory chapter in which she presents a general survey of nativism in the United States from colonial times to the Civil War. This is helpful to a better understanding of the problem, despite the realization that no satisfactory survey of nativism in our entire history can be written, until the story of its rise, course, and manifestations in each state has been told. It is also well that the term has been defined, for too frequently the bewildered reader gains the impression that nativism belongs to that class of terms whose definition depends upon the viewpoint of the definer. Nativism usually assumes a meaning dependent upon the racial, religious, or political complexion of the user. This author defines it as "an attitude of hostility to all supposedly un-American influences in every phase of American life . . . its chief features . . . a deep-rooted inherited hatred for everything Catholic and a strong opposition to foreigners." But even she has failed to maintain a consistent position, for whereas the anti-Catholic hostility of the pre-Revolutionary, Revolutionary, and post-Revolutionary periods may be accepted as an indication of nativistic sentiment, the "anti-British" and "anti-Royalist" hostility of the same periods can hardly be accepted as concomitant manifestations.

Nor in point of fact was the anti-Popery sentiment during the ratification struggle quite so pronounced as one would be led to believe. The malcontents of Massachusetts and North Carolina may have given free rein to their vivid imaginings with respect to the dangers of a Popish peril, but that very liberty of conscience guaranteed by the Constitution was the result of protests like that emanating from the Minority members of the Pennsylvania constitutional convention. It began: "The right of conscience shall be held inviolable and neither the legislative executive nor judicial powers of the United States shall have authority to alter, abrogate, or infringe. . . . "

The work is organized into parts as follows: the origin and development of nativism in Texas prior to the Republic; nativism in the Texan Republic; the political and racial background for the Know-Nothing movement; Know-Nothingism (1854-1860). The conclusions arrived at are: (a) the essentials of nativism were antagonism towards the Catholic Church and hatred of the foreigner; (b) there were no essential differences between nativism in Texas and nativism in the North; (c) the evil effects of the policy were temporary, and (d) the benefits, religious and political, were lasting.

Strange to say there is one phase of the problem whose importance has been emphasised throughout and yet receives no mention in the conclusions. This is the economic aspect. No discussion of this subject from the racial, religious or political standpoint or from all three combined would be complete without a recognition of the importance of economic forces.

The study has been based upon primary source material such as public records, newspaper files and contemporary correspondence. It is supplied with an analytical table of contents; an appendix containing some interesting exerpts from newspapers; a comprehensive bibliography; and an adequate index. Had uniformity of style been maintained throughout preface and conclusion, distracting transitions from the formal third person to the personal first would have been avoided.

St. Xavier College
Chicago

SISTER MARY CELESTE

The Pageant of America. New Haven, Yale University Press. Vol. II, R. H. Gabriel, *The Lure of the Frontier.* Vol. XIV, O. S. Coad and Edward J. Mims, *The American Stage.* Vol. XV, J. A. Krout, *Annals of American Sport.*

The *Lure of the Frontier* is the story of the Indian's loss of power as the white man appropriated that power before civilization, in the more sophisticated use of that term, really reached America. The two narratives have been paralleled. Only one phase of the pushing back of the frontier has been treated—the exploration phase, "the activities of the fur trader, the westward progress of the fringe of settlement, and the long, sad story of race conflict."

As in all of Ralph Gabriel's writing, so here may be found a unique, philosophic turn. He would ascribe the wars with the Indians to the following succession of events: the Indians went through a process of degeneration as civilization touched them;

ultimately this degeneration caused an attitude of despair among a race, not too optimistic at best; they gave vent to this despair in the invention of new religions and useless wars.

In Volume XIV we find a complete history of the stage in America from the earliest dramatic beginnings at the opening of the eighteenth century "when the first rigors of pioneering came to an end." The early colonial disapproval of stage and actors is discussed. Coming down to contemporary times, we see the names which appear in the morning's newspapers as producers, appear here as representatives of two types of contemporary stagecraft; we find the names of leading stars of current productions appear as makers of twentieth century dramatic history. The work is all inclusive from burlesque up, or down, through the musical comedy and revue to the productions of the Theatre Guild Acting Co.

The *Annals of American Sport,* dedicated to Walter Camp, is the first complete history of American athletics. The earliest forms of American recreation were combined with work. Early colonial sports like the drama and literature were copied from those of the English. Today recreation is organized and movements are under way for a return to the appreciation of nature and the out-of-doors. We find these principles embodied in such organizations as the Camp Fire Girls, the Girl Scouts and the Boy Scouts.

The Pageant of America is remarkable in that its original standard of excellence has been maintained throughout a readable, popularized text; reproductions of source material wherever possible, many previously unused illustrations as well as the works of classical artists. This series of fifteen volumes represents a real contribution to every phase of American history.

St. George's High School DOROTHY CATHERINE KLEESPIES
Evanston, Illinois

The Influence of Environment on the Settlement of Missouri. By James Fernando Ellis, Ph. D. Dissertation presented to the Faculty of Saint Louis University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Webster Publishing Company, St. Louis, Missouri, 1929, pp. vi+180.

Geography and history are so intimately related that neither can be properly understood apart from the other. Both are social studies, and as such are concerned with human activities, the one emphasizing space and the other, time; but neither is concerned exclusively with either concept. An historical event has not only a definite occurrence in time but is associated with some particular place. Geographical forces, usually operating slowly, must use the records of history to get a measurable amount of change. Similarly, human institutions yield sooner or later to the influences of natural environment.

These mutual relations, being more or less obvious, might be expected to receive frequent emphasis at the hands of teachers; yet, as a matter of fact, there is a tendency to treat each subject in isolation—a procedure which can hardly be defended as being in the interest of either subject-matter or of sound pedagogy. The reason for this lack of correlation must be sought in the traditional methods of the textbook writer who too frequently treats his special field on the assumption that knowledge belongs in water-tight compartments. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The result has been unfortunate, and few subjects have suffered more from this process of devitalizing knowledge than history and geography. In the past the historian has all too frequently minimized, if he did not ignore, the potent influence of geographical conditions and forces, while the geographer went to the opposite extreme and exaggerated the influences of natural forces to such a degree that man appeared to be but a mere plaything on the great cosmic stage.

The present work steers a well-planned course between these extreme positions. While its main purpose is to point out the importance of geographical influences on the history of the settlement of Missouri, it makes no claim that environmental forces were the only ones which were operative during the period under investigation.

The method of treatment is historical except in the case of the introductory chapter, which is devoted to an analysis of those geographical factors that have been operative in bringing about the settlement of Missouri and in directing the stream of immigration. Of these the more significant would appear to have been the location and topography of the state, its great water routes and copious water supply, its mineral wealth and extensive forests, its soil and climate, its fauna and flora, and in general the richness and diversity of its resources.

The different political periods are studied in chronological order and the geographical influences operating during each period are analyzed in a manner which shows that the writer is thoroughly at home in dealing not only with the larger factors, both historical and geographical, which influenced the settlement and development of his native state, but even with those details of local history and physiography which give the reader assurance that the author is not content with stating "glittering generalities," but is willing to test hypotheses by applying them to the solution of specific problems.

The purely historical part is contained in the last five chapters. Chapter ii deals with the period of French control (1673-1769); chapter iii, with the period of Spanish control (1769-1804); chapter iv, with the period of Federal control (1804-1821); chapter v with the period from the beginning of statehood (1821) to the beginning of the Civil War. The last chapter deals with the period from the close of the Civil War to 1875.

It would appear that following the Civil War immigration in Missouri "was influenced less by geographical features than it was during the earlier periods in that railroads and highways directed the flow of population rather than the natural waterways and trails over mountains and through valleys."

The work is readable, scholarly, and timely. It will be welcomed not only in academic circles but by every teacher who believes in offering a better integrated course in the history and geography of Missouri.

John Carroll University
Cleveland

HUGH GRAHAM, PH. D.

Pioneering in China: The Story of the Rev. Francis Xavier Engbring, O. F. M. By the Rev. Marion A. Habig, O. F. M., Franciscan Herald Press, Chicago, 1930.

A few weeks ago I read an article in the New York *Herald* entitled, "Old China Hands." The purpose of the article in question was to show what some people with China's interest at heart had succeeded in accomplishing. There was the dramatic episode of the diplomatist, the conquests of the foreign Sinologue, the heroic endeavors of the Protestant missionary, the gracious tributes of the literary writer, the hectic adventures of the commander of the man-of-war; but, sad to say, there was not one word of the Christ-like achievements of the Catholic missionary. In this, we have only ourselves to blame; for the lives of our Catholic missionaries in China are of such a nature that if told they would literally fill volumes.

Pioneering in China presents to us the life of an American Franciscan missionary in what has been termed the most difficult portion of the Lord's vineyard. There is unfolded to our gaze a tale of a man who regarded the salvation of the souls of others of far greater importance than the health of his own body, a tale the beauty of which is only enhanced by the dangers that are met, the trials that are endured, the sorrows that weigh down and oppress. In the brief sketch of Father Engbring's life we can find drama that would bring a tear to the eye as well as a smile to the cheek; we can find narrated adventures of such heroic a nature as to make us realize that the age of chivalrous deeds has not yet passed; we can find mention of the efforts made to master the Chinese language, than which there is no harder language on earth; we can read of deeds that would make those of military commanders pale into insignificance. But above all these, we find that serene confidence in God which is so characteristic of all those who have offered themselves for voluntary service in foreign fields. It is this motive of doing all for the love of God that makes of the missionary's life a tale the unfolding of which is written in letters of gold in the Book of Life, a tale that inspires the timid with courage, and causes the courageous to make yet greater efforts in carrying out God's will.

It is with a certain feeling of pride that I recommend the reading of Father Engbring's life. But had the biographer been able to see China in reality, it is my opinion that he would have written a book that would have rendered even greater testimony to the heroism of the Chinese missionary. The pioneer is the one who clears the ground and plants the seed, the fruit of which others will reap in joy, where he sowed in sorrow. The pioneer receives all the knocks of the game, while to others go the praise and the applause. The pioneer's work is soon forgotten and the memory of his name soon vanishes in the thoughts of men; but his work and his memory is not, and will not, be forgotten by Him who said, "What you have done to these, my least brethren, you did it unto Me."

If there is one criticism I can make of *Pioneering in China,* it is this: I find that in the narrative portions of the sketch the sentences, and consequently the narrative, become monotonous. This is, in the main, due to the fact that too many short sentences are grouped together, thus producing a staccato effect far from pleasing.

St. Louis University
St. Louis
Louis G. Soniat, S. J.

The Sisters of Mercy of Maryland, 1855-1930. By Sister Mary Loretto Costello, M. A., B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis, 1931, pp. 249. $3.00.

This is the graphic tale of the rise of the Baltimore home of the Sisters of Mercy, the congregation of religious founded in Dublin a century ago by Catherine Elizabeth McAuley, as Right Reverend Thomas J. Shahan tells us in the *Introduction* of the work. The congregation grew and spread and 1843 witnessed their establishment in Pittsburgh. In 1846 similar establishments appeared in both Chicago and New York, while others were founded in Providence (1850), San Francisco (1854), and Baltimore (1855).

To tell the story of this home as set down by Sister Mary Loretto is impossible in this short space; but it is interesting to note the rapidity with which the little community grew. From the care of the Washington Infirmary, which then stood on the square bounded by Fourth and Fifth Streets between F and G, now the site of the Pension Office, and of which they took charge in the year 1852 at the request of Dr. Albert T. F. May, curator of the hospital, they extended their activity into the many and varied branches of work carried on at present in the state of Maryland. These include the Mercy Hospital of Baltimore, which celebrated its Golden Jubilee in 1924, Mount Saint Agnes College, which was chartered in 1890 by the State of Maryland, and several other schools and asylums of scarcely less importance.

Perhaps the chapter which will interest the casual reader most is the ninth, dealing with the activities of the Sisters in the Spanish-American and World Wars. It is written well and the great and near-great slip in and out of the pages with an ease that bespeaks the author's grasp of her materials. The whole of the book is interspersed with numerous laudatory obituaries of the many members of the community who labored long and diligently in the vineyard of the Lord during the period covered by the author. The text proper is followed by a *Chronology* and a *Necrology,* both of which enhance the value of the work. However, the student interested in the history of Maryland Catholicity and similar subjects will be disappointed in the author's failure to include a bibliography or to amplify in any way the text with footnotes.

St. Louis University — EDWARD HAROLD YOUNG, A. B.
St. Louis

"Governor Mendinueta's Proposals for the Defense of New Mexico, 1772-1778." Edited by Alfred B. Thomas. Reprinted from the *New Mexico Historical Review,* 1931, pp. 21-39.

Mid-America (October, 1929) has already called attention to the notable research work being done in the colonial period of the Spanish Southwest by Professor Alfred B. Thomas of the University of Oklahoma. Professor Thomas's special field of investigation is the Spanish expansion north from the New Mexican borderlands in the direction of the Missouri Valley. In this field he has already broken not a little new ground, his published studies being distinctly the result of first-hand research in the Spanish Archives of the Indies in Seville. The present brochure reproduces a group of documents brought to light by Professor Thomas on a recent visit to Seville, which was made possible by a subsidy from the Guggenheim Foundation. They present an aspect of the writer's study of the rule of Governor Juan Bautista de Ansa, throwing light particularly on the history of Spanish-Indian relations in the Southwest. Professor Thomas's illuminating studies will be followed with interest by all scholars who have come to realize the significance in American history of the advancing Spanish frontier.

G. J. G.

"Mount Joliet: Its Place in Illinois History and Its Location." By Robert Knight and Lucius Zeuch. Reprinted from the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* Volume 23, Number 1, April, 1930.

This is another joint study of a problem of Illinois history by the same two thoroughgoing investigators who gave us in 1928 their notable contribution to the problem of the Old Chicago

Portage. Mount Joliet (only a bare remnant remains today, the bulk of it having been cut away) was as late as the middle nineteenth century a well known landmark at the head of Lake Joliet, an enlargement of the Des Plaines river not far from the city of Joliet. Explorers, voyageurs, missionaries, traders, travellers, and other Illinois pioneers from the seventeenth century on, as they passed in either direction between the Great Lakes and the Lower Illinois, caught sight of this natural elevation on the surrounding plain, an elevation which in the distance took on the appearance of a mountain. It came accordingly to be described in journals and indicated on maps. Journals, maps, engineers' surveys, government reports, and other pertinent documentary material have accordingly been utilized by the authors of this admirable topographical and historical reconstruction of one of the outstanding physical features of primitive Illinois.

G. J. G.

Annals of the Province of the Sacred Heart O. F. M., No. 5, 1931, Worman Printery, Teutopolis, Illinois.

The Franciscans of the Province of the Sacred Heart (erected in 1879) continue in this valuable serial to preserve for the future historian a record of their activities, ministerial, educational and otherwise, in the Middle West. Under the caption, *Ne Memoria Pereat* (p. 310 ff.), are reproduced vivid first-hand accounts of the experiences of Franciscan Fathers who during the World War gave their services to the American cause in the capacity of army chaplains. A Brother of the Order drafted into the ranks also has his story to tell in original diary form, and an engaging story it is. The sons of St. Francis are to be congratulated on thus placing within reach of the reading public these highly interesting and edifying memorials at once of piety and loyalty to country.

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